

INTRODUCTION TO
The Acts of the Apostles
AND
The Epistles of St. Paul

EVELYN PARKER

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INTRODUCTION TO
THE ACTS OF THE APOSTLES
AND THE EPISTLES OF ST PAUL

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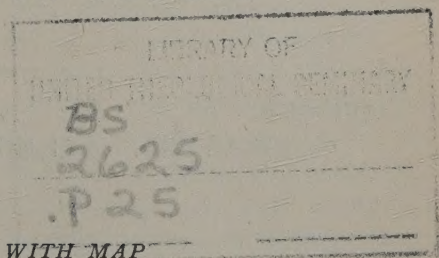
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FOREWORD

THE intention of this little manual is to provide a first elementary introduction to the Acts of the Apostles and the Epistles of St Paul. It is principally designed for the assistance of those who are preparing for the teaching profession and who, while requiring to use these portions of the Sacred Scriptures for the purpose of their doctrinal instructions, have not hitherto prosecuted any study in this region.

Since, then, the manual is intended for those who are not professedly scholars, and who require principally that information which will be serviceable for the instruction of children, controverted problems, and questions of text and date, have been excluded. Where these necessarily arise the method used has been to adopt, without argument, the opinion of some good authority. In most cases it is the view of R. P. Lagrange, O.P., of the Biblical Institute, which has been followed.

If the result of this little work should be to induce students to read the sacred text itself with fuller appreciation, and to increase their knowledge by the study of more complete and scholarly commentaries, it will have more than fulfilled any hopes that may be based upon it.

CRAIGLOCKHART R. C. TRAINING COLLEGE,
1927.

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ST PAUL

INTRODUCTION

THE WORLD TO WHICH ST PAUL PREACHED

ST PAUL was born into a world controlled by the Empire of Rome then, probably, at the moment of its greatest power and security. The succession of conquests, which had extended the Roman dominions until they included all countries round the Mediterranean Sea, and stretched from the English Channel on the west, to beyond Asia Minor on the east, had, in the first century A.D., been so secured and consolidated that what was proudly called "The Roman Peace" (*Pax Romana*) was maintained unbroken throughout the whole of her vast territories. This peace, moreover, was preserved rather by the consent of her subjects than by the compulsion of her armies.

This state of affairs, with all its far-reaching consequences in the early history of the Catholic Church, was the result partly of the traditional imperial policy of Rome, partly of the genius of her first Emperor. Augustus Cæsar, he who was Emperor when Christ was born, by defeating Mark Antony at the battle of *Actium*,¹ prevented the division of the Empire into two portions, an Eastern and a Western, and thus saved the Holy Land from being shut into a semi-orientalised kingdom which would have cut it off from the world behind barriers of rival interests and racial enmities. In the state of perpetual conflict which must then have

¹B.C. 31.

prevailed, the Apostles would have had as much chance of converting the Western world as English Catholics would have had if, during the late War, they had tried to evangelise Turkey. But, when Augustus and Rome fought with Antony and Egypt for the supremacy of the world, Divine Providence fought on the side of Augustus, who, consequently, won. As a result of this victory the first Christian missionaries had at their disposal all the material aids which their mission required.

In addition to personal gifts, spiritual and intellectual, a missionary requires at least three material aids if his mission is to succeed, and especially if success is to be rapid; he requires roads that he may reach his converts, a language in which he may preach to them, and peace while he is preaching. These three essentials the Roman Empire provided for the first missions of the Christian Church.

Through every part of the Roman Empire ran the Roman roads. Roman roads penetrated the rocky walls of Asia Minor and gave St Paul access to his Galatian converts; a Roman road, the Via Egnatia, ran through Macedonia into Greece, and led him, by Philippi and Thessalonica, to Athens and Corinth. Ships bringing corn from the granaries of the East to the pauper population of the Imperial City, plied between those regions and Italy, and then again the same great highways led him "where all roads lead" to Rome itself. The map of St Paul's missionary journeys is, in a large measure, the map of the Roman roads.

The second consideration was that of language. If the victories of Rome and their consequences supply one striking illustration of the dispositions made by Divine Providence for the spread of the Gospel, the solution of the language problem affords a second even more remarkable. The creation of a great literature,

and the existence of two great Empires were alike means whereby it was brought about that St Paul, a Jew, could speak and write in one language to all the different peoples whom he evangelised, and be understood by them all. That one language was Greek.

Before Rome conquered the East it had been under the sway of monarchies which were themselves fragments of the Empire of Alexander the Great. In all these monarchies Alexander's policy of imposing the Greek language and culture upon his conquests was followed. In Palestine itself this policy was only partially successful, elsewhere it was much more effective. The result was that the Greek language was current throughout the East, and was especially well known by the "Jews of the Dispersion," that is, the Jews who did not live in Palestine. Rome, for quite different reasons, also adopted the same language and culture and, since she carried her education with her arms, she made it known in those regions where Alexander had never been. When, therefore, she conquered the East, she only altered the government, for the language and culture were the same as her own.¹

One language, a language known to all educated Jews, was known also to all educated Gentiles. St Paul knew it, the Evangelists knew it; no difficulties of speech stood between those who were to preach, and those who were to hear, the Gospel of Christ. And this is the second temporal disposition of Providence for the spread of the Gospel.

Roads and language being provided the third essential was peace. Of the Roman Peace something has already been said; and only one or two details need here be added. During the whole period of the life of Christ

¹ Latin was, of course, the language of government, but Greek was the common speech of educated people, and was taught in all Roman schools.

upon earth the civilised world had been wrapped in profound peace ; this peace was very largely maintained throughout the early years of the Church also, so that there were no great public troubles to distract attention from the good news of the Gospel ; in fact in many of her provinces Rome maintained no armed garrisons beyond the governor's guard.

From the point of view of the student of Church history two of the reasons of Rome's success in this matter are of special interest ; her policy in regard to her political privileges, and in regard to foreign religions ; the first of these is of special importance to the student of St Paul. To the political status known as " Roman citizenship " were attached certain rights, immunities and privileges. This status Romans had by right of birth ; but Rome could, and did, confer it upon others, either individuals or communities, and her readiness to do so was one great reason of her subjects' loyalty, for it was a greatly coveted privilege. Originally it had been the reward of public services ; by this time it was possible to obtain it for money as had the tribune in Jerusalem who exclaimed to St Paul : " I obtained the being free of this city with a great sum." " But I was born so," answered the saint. Tarsus had been generously treated in the matter of privilege during the last days of the Roman Republic ; Augustus, first Emperor, acting apparently on the advice of his tutor, a native of Tarsus, had restricted the citizenship to the wealthiest families ; of one of these families was St Paul born. We constantly find that these Roman privileges are a potent factor in the various crises of St Paul's missionary career. It is as a citizen that he forces the magistrates of Philippi to release him ; it is as a citizen that he appeals to Cæsar, and has his appeal allowed.

The effect upon the Catholic Church of Rome's policy in reference to the non-Roman religions in the

Empire may be briefly stated. That policy was one of toleration of the recognised cults, and among these was the Jewish religion. As long as Christianity was officially considered a Jewish sect, and for some time it was so considered, it might proceed as it would, unmolested, and even protected, by the government. Later this very toleration will be itself a danger; meanwhile it affords the infant Church the necessary minimum of security. Gallio, in whose court at Corinth the Jews accused St Paul, adopted the customary Roman attitude when, without troubling to hear the saint's defence, he dismisses the accusation: "If it were some matter of injustice, or an heinous deed, O Jews, I should with reason bear with you. But if they be questions of words and names, and of your law, look you to it. I will not be judge of such things." (Acts xviii, 14-15.) Not yet for the sake of religious differences will a Roman Governor suffer a breach of the Roman Peace.

Moral State of the Roman World

The Roman world, then, was outwardly a world of extraordinary magnificence and prosperity, full of material advantages which, as we have seen, were providentially made the servants of the Gospel. Within it was far otherwise. Morally and spiritually that magnificent world was sick, even to death. Rome itself, the Eternal City, was the abode of such moral corruptions that St Peter gives it the title of "Babylon"; type, to the Jewish mind, of all that was basest and most evil. Augustus, himself not stainless, had striven persistently to check by legislation the worst of its social evils, but they had progressed beyond the power of legislation to help. Terrible as is the catalogue of sins given by St Paul in the Epistle to the Romans, it contains nothing which could not be paralleled from her own writers. Once Rome had been morally superior

to the nations she conquered ; now she fell below them all. And, though her religious practices were so interwoven with all her public acts that for long this was a stumbling block to her Christian citizens, her religion was powerless to purify or restrain, for it was no longer believed.

Rome was sick ; but there was one hope left for her ; she knew that she was sick, and everywhere she sought for a cure. Despairing of her own gods she turned from one creed to another ; she experimented with rites, and struggled with philosophies ; she would undergo any ceremony, no matter how bizarre, if only it professed to purify and regenerate. In her struggles there is to be discerned a curious blind groping after the truth.

It was to people deeply convicted of sin who had vaguely dreamed of a holy city ; of a propitiatory sacrifice, of a redemption by blood, and a new life ; to a people, in short, starving for the Gospel, that St Paul was to preach : Him “ Who hath delivered us from the power of darkness and hath translated us into the kingdom of the Son of His love : In Whom we have redemption through His blood, the remission of sins.” (Col. i, 13-14.)

The Church and the Empire. Having obtained, it is hoped, some slight idea of the setting in which the first scenes of the great drama of Christian history were enacted, it is now time to turn to those scenes themselves ; to do which we may profitably ask ourselves a question : How did the Christian Church, at first consisting only of a few Jews in Palestine, and those isolated in the midst of a hostile population and an indifferent civil power, begin to obey its Master's command to “ teach all nations ” ?

Within comparatively few years from the first Whit-Sunday knowledge of the new religion had spread through Syria and Asia Minor into Greece and Italy itself. Eastward, according to tradition, it had reached

as far as India. We are so familiar with this fact as often to lose sight of its extraordinary character ; yet extraordinary it is, especially in this that circumstances were in reality also adverse which at first sight seemed to be only favourable.

It was no strange thing for Rome to obtain a new religion from the East. Caligula had sanctioned the cult of Isis, Claudius that of Cybele, and these, though perhaps the most popular of the Eastern borrowings, were not the only ones. At a later period than this the cult of Mithra was to enter the Empire from Persia, and to be received with as much cordiality as the Phrygian Cybele or Egyptian Isis.

At the first glance it might seem as though this ready reception of new cults was a favouring circumstance for Christianity, and, in some measure, this was indeed the case. A powerful factor in the success of these cults was their professed ability to be able to answer the question, at that time more anxiously urged than ever : " What must I do to be saved ? " In proportion as Christianity could answer this question with a power and authority which other creeds could not pretend to, her success might be predicted to be greater than theirs. But though there was this in favour of the Church, there was much against.

The religion of Christ is an exclusive religion : " There is no other name under heaven given to man, whereby we must be saved." (Acts iv, 12.) In these words of the Prince of the Apostles the whole attitude of the Pagan world towards religion is repudiated. " The glory of ' Pagan ' religion was in its comprehensiveness." To the pagan of the Roman Empire no god was alien ; to follow one he needed not to desert any other, and he might worship in the famous Ephesian temple without questioning overmuch whether the goddess he addressed was the " Great Mother " of Phrygia, or the virgin huntress of Greece. Nevertheless

these gods were jealous too ; not of worship paid to another, but of worship paid to them by the name of another. Hence the numerous altars erected " To the gods of this place, whatever be their name." That one religion should exclude all others was undreamed of, save in so far as the Jews had hinted as much. It is the preconceptions of generations which are to be attacked by a few obscure men of a despised nation who are to proclaim to an astounded world their Master's inexorable mandate : " No man cometh to the Father but by Me."

To lose sight of this fact is to give more praise to men than is their due, and less to God. If the Church, instead of becoming one sect among many, made conquest of all the cults, the triumph is to be attributed not to Christians, but to Christ ; for it passed the strength of man.

PART I
THE ACTS OF THE APOSTLES

PREFACE

WE are now to observe the first stages of that conquest, and for this purpose we shall use, almost exclusively, the "Acts of the Apostles." Quite apart from its authority as part of the canon of Scripture, St Luke's book is an historical document of unequalled value. St Luke was himself eye-witness of much that he describes; and where he was not he could obtain his information from those who were; recent discoveries have increasingly confirmed his accuracy, and his literary gifts were of a high order of excellence. Not the least among his merits is the directness of his narrative and the sanity of his judgment, and we shall not err, probably, if we attribute these to the humility of which the "Acts" themselves give ample proof.

It seems that St Luke was by nationality a Hellene; by profession he was certainly a physician, and tradition would have him also an artist. He joined St Paul at Troas during the Second Missionary Journey of that Apostle, becoming thereafter his faithful companion and beloved friend. The "Acts" were apparently written soon after St Paul was first imprisoned in Rome; they include the principal deeds of St Peter from the Ascension of Our Lord to the public call of St Paul, and thereafter narrate the works of that Apostle until his first Roman imprisonment; the period of time covered is about thirty years.

I

ACTS OF THE APOSTLES. CHAPTERS I-XII

SUMMARY

- Cap. 1. The Ascension of Our Lord : the election of Matthias.
2. The Descent of the Holy Ghost : first manifestation of the Church : the common life.
3. Miracle of St Peter at the Beautiful Gate.
4. SS Peter and John forbidden to preach : Barnabas gives his possessions to the general store.
5. Judgment of Ananias and Sapphira : many miracles : especially of Peter : Arrest of Apostles : miraculous release : fresh trial : Gamaliel's counsel.
6. Appointment of Seven Deacons. . . . Arrest of Stephen.
7. Defence and condemnation of Stephen. " Saul was consenting unto his death."
8. Dispersal of faithful : apostolate of Philip.
9. Conversion of Saul, his consequent actions : Peter's miracles at Lydda and Joppa.
10. Peter's vision of the vessel from heaven : conversion of Cornelius.
11. Peter justifies his baptism of Cornelius : Barnabas fetches Saul from Tarsus to Antioch : both go to Jerusalem.
12. Renewal of persecution : martyrdom of James : arrest and release of Peter : return of Barnabas and Saul to Antioch.

COMMENTARY

The Beginnings of the Church (Acts i-viii)

First Preaching of the Gospel. The Descent of the Holy Spirit immediately produced a most striking alteration in the conduct of the Apostles; they at once begin to act with a vigour and boldness quite unlike their former behaviour and St Peter, already acknowledged as their leader,¹ is the most conspicuous of all.

A rumour of the strange things which were happening having caused a crowd to gather in the street where the Apostles were, St Peter immediately takes the opportunity to preach the first missionary sermon of the Christian Church. In this address he strikes at once the key note of all the apostolic preaching, and therefore it is worth while to consider it somewhat in detail :

“Ye men of Israel, hear these words: Jesus of Nazareth, a man approved of God among you by miracles and wonders and signs, which God did by him, in the midst of you, as you also know: this same being delivered up by the determinate counsel and foreknowledge of God, you by the hands of wicked men have crucified and slain. Whom God raised up, having loosed the sorrows of hell, as it was impossible that He should be holden by it. . . . This Jesus hath God raised up, whereof all we are witnesses. . . . Therefore let all the house of Israel know most certainly that God hath made both Lord and Christ, this same Jesus whom you have crucified.

“Now when they had heard these things they had compunction in their heart and said to Peter and the rest of the Apostles: ‘What shall we do, men and brethren?’ But Peter said to them: Do penance: and be baptised, every one of you in the name of Jesus

¹ Cf. Acts i, election of Matthias.

Christ, for the remission of your sins. And you shall receive the gift of the Holy Ghost. For the promise is to you and to your children and to all that are far off, whomsoever the Lord our God shall call." (Acts ii, 22-24.)

We have separated the main thread of Peter's address from the arguments with which he accompanied it that it may be clear how striking a proclamation is here made of the great leading doctrines of the faith ; and how intimate is the union between what may be called the " dogmas of belief ", and the " dogmas of practice ": " This being true, thus act."

First, what precisely has been proclaimed? In priority of place stands the righteousness of Christ, Whom some of those present may have seen on the malefactor's gibbet: " Jesus of Nazareth, a man approved of God among you by miracles and wonders and signs." The miracles were wrought by power from God, therefore to condemn Christ was to make God a liar Who had bent His omnipotence to deceive. This argument is Christ's own. (Luke xi.) Secondly, the crucifixion was the guilt of men: it was not the failure of Christ nor of God.¹ God and Christ had known and intended Christ's Passion ; but it was not laid on any man that *he* must be killer of Christ ; the guilt then is theirs, as the malice was theirs. " The Son of Man indeed goeth, as it is written of him ; but woe to that man by whom the Son of Man shall be betrayed." (Matt. xxvi, 24.)

Thirdly is proclaimed the resurrection of Christ. Here it is important to notice the reason which is assigned for it. Let not the Jews evade the issue by fancied parallels of Elias and the widow's son ; or even of such as Lazarus. The resurrection of Christ was not arbitrary but inevitable ; it could not be otherwise ; death had no dominion : " As it was impossible that

¹ Esaias liii, 9.

He should be holden by it." And at once there follows the fourth great proclamation. Jesus is God. "Know most certainly that God hath made both Lord and Christ, this same Jesus whom you have crucified." No Jew could apply the title "Lord" to any other than to God. Of no other could it be said Death had no dominion; St Peter therefore has accused those present of the ultimate sin, of the murder of God. He has accused, and they are convicted; for immediately they cry out: "What shall we do, men, brethren?" The reply is instant. "Do penance; be baptised." Nor is the promise of the Gospel withheld: "You shall receive the Holy Ghost." So efficacious is the sacrament of baptism that even so terrible a sin will not prevent them from receiving the greatest of spiritual gifts. But we have here to notice another point, one which is, in fact, among the great leading principles of Catholic economy. With belief goes an immediate obligation to action. This is what we described as the union between the "dogmas of practice" and those of belief. With the same act that we believe we are enjoined to the performance of certain actions for a specified purpose. "Christ whom we crucified is God"; therefore—"Do this for the remission of your sins." The scheme of salvation then, includes first, what must be believed; second, what therefore must be done; to subtract either is to cripple both.

We find from the latter part of the same chapter that this principle is further illustrated by the mention, with the same commendation, of the new converts' constancy to "the doctrine of the Apostles," and to "the communication of the breaking of bread."

But we have not even yet exhausted the content of this first sketch of Christian doctrine. The Gospel promise, announces St Peter, is "to you and to your children and to whomsoever the Lord our God shall call." The mission of St Paul to the pagan nations is

hereby ratified even before it had been conceived.

Here, then, is the first statement of Christian doctrine ; it will be expanded and developed ; it will never be changed, nor will the scheme of values be altered. From Christ, in Christ, to Christ, this will be from henceforward the tenor of the apostolic message, " to the Jews a stumbling block, and unto the Gentiles foolishness : but to them that are called, both Jews and Greeks, Christ, the power of God and the wisdom of God." (I Cor. ii, 23, 24.)

Sequence of Events. For some time the Apostles continued their labours without coming to open collision with the Jewish leaders. Even when at length the Sadducees, infuriated by this preaching of the resurrection, succeeded in goading the High Priest into action, so incontestable were Peter's miracles, and so strong popular feeling on their account, that it was impossible to proceed to extremes. (Acts iii and iv.)

A second attempt (Acts v), fared no better, heaven itself intervened, but the subsequent rearrest and fresh trial deserve a special note since it provoked the intervention of the famous Gamaliel, and the initiation of a fresh policy.

Gamaliel. Gamaliel, grandson of Hillel, founder of that group among the Jewish teachers which was known for its mild and humane interpretations of the Law, was as much beloved for the sweetness of his character as revered for his intellectual attainments, and in any case the grandson of Hillel must have been listened to with respect. The Sanhedrin had already determined to condemn the Apostles when the famous Doctor of the Law interposed. After citing two recent instances of failure to overturn the established order of things Gamaliel came to the point : " And now therefore, I say to you : Refrain from these men and let them alone : for if this counsel or this work be

of men, it will come to nought : But if it be of God, you cannot overthrow it ; lest perhaps you be found to fight even against God. And they consented to him." (Acts v, 38-39.)

It is worth while to pause for a moment over this utterance of him who was called " The Beauty of the Law." For Gamaliel to us is more than a Rabbi whose memory is yet fragrant, he is the man who taught St Paul. Years later the Apostle will assert it : " I am a Jew . . . brought up in this city at the feet of Gamaliel." (Acts xxii, 3.) One speech is but little evidence, yet from this utterance of St Paul's master we can learn something of the kind of teaching his pupil had received.

" If this counsel or this work be of men it will come to nought. But if it be of God you cannot overthrow it." Human weakness alone will be sufficient to overthrow any movement, even religious, that is of merely human origin. Even legitimate authority must not be in too great a hurry to play providence ; " the Spirit bloweth where it listeth," and the Creator of the world does not always consult His creature before acting, nor always need their aid to vindicate His prerogative. Wherefore let them not overhastily condemn a religious manifestation as evil because unaccustomed, " lest perhaps they be found even to fight against God ".

" Quench not the Spirit : Despise not prophesying," St Paul himself commands, much in the spirit of Gamaliel, and with the same anxiety lest even those who have the right to deal with other souls should try, as it were, to substitute for Divine Providence in those dealings. St Augustine repeats the same idea : " Thou Lord . . . standest by the helm of all things that Thou hast made." Gamaliel's authority was of such weight that a period of several years elapses before open violence is again renewed, and even then it is not, at least in the beginning, premeditated.

St. Stephen. It is, perhaps, to about the year 33 that we must ascribe the martyrdom of St Stephen. The protomartyr of the Church was one of the seven deacons who had been appointed from among the Greek-speaking group of Jewish converts to oversee the temporal affairs of the Christian body. Alone among the Seven he is particularly described: "Stephen, a man full of faith and of the Holy Ghost." His zeal could not be confined to the administration of alms, and he became known for his preaching and miracles.

As was perhaps natural, Stephen turned his attention more especially to the Jews of the Dispersion who kept themselves apart from the Palestinian Jews, and had their own synagogues in Jerusalem where Greek, not Hebrew or Aramaic, was spoken. In these synagogues Stephen preached and argued, making, it appears, particularly his own the truth that redemption was not confined to the Jews, and that the Old Law was superseded by the Gospel. To preach this doctrine was to infuriate the Pharisees, always strongly nationalist, and intensely jealous of the Jewish prerogative as the Chosen People, even more than the Sadducees were infuriated by the preaching of the Resurrection. Stephen was not conciliating; tumults arose; he was dragged before the Sanhedrin and accused of blasphemy. (Acts vi.) His defence was a violent attack on the Pharisees, and on their tenderest point, their fidelity to the Law (Acts vi, 12-53): riot broke forth; they fell upon Stephen "And casting him forth without the city, they stoned him. And the witnesses laid down their garments at the feet of a young man whose name was Saul . . . and Saul was consenting unto his death." (*Idem*, 57, 59.) It is a tradition in the Church that St Paul owed his conversion to the intercession of Stephen: "Without Stephen no Paul," says one of the Fathers. Certainly it is from this moment that

both men and events conspire to make possible that wonderful mission of the converted Pharisee to the despised Gentiles. "Saul was consenting unto his death" and the martyr took a most Catholic revenge, the persecutor becoming all that the victim could have wished to be.

Dispersal of Faithful. The persecution which followed the death of St Stephen caused the faithful to disperse throughout Judea and Samaria. At once the first breach is made in the wall which had till now confined the Gospel to the Jews. Philip, himself one of the Seven, preached the Gospel to the despised Samaritans, and Peter and John, on the news of his success, hasten thither and administer the sacrament of confirmation to the converts.¹ With Philip also is connected the first advance through the breach, since he baptized the treasurer of Candace, Queen of Ethiopia. This man, apparently a proselyte² to Judaism, was returning from Jerusalem when the grace of God met him in the desert. (Acts viii.)

One point in this incident is especially worth our attention. Philip was in the midst of very successful apostolic work when he was suddenly ordered to give it all up and go to the desert where, presumably, there would be nothing to do. Philip obeyed, and in that desert there was one soul ready to believe. He does believe and is baptised, and immediately "the Spirit of the Lord took away Philip" and he was "found at Azotus," one of the towns on the coast. It had taken an angel, a miracle, and Philip himself to baptise that single soul.

So much, therefore, has been done. The Gospel has been preached to the Jews, both of Palestine and of

¹ For an account of Simon Magus and the origins of Gnosticism larger works should be consulted.

² Proselyte = one pagan by birth who accepts the Jewish revelation of God; but without necessarily observing the Mosaic Law.

the Dispersion ; it has been preached to the Samaritans, the despised hangers-on of the Jewish people ; it has been preached also to proselytes ; it has not yet been preached to the Gentiles. But Saul, the persecutor, is already on the road to Damascus.

NOTES

I. GIFT OF TONGUES

Two other points in this important second chapter require comment, the "gift of tongues," and the "common life." During the period covered by the "Acts" the outpouring of the Holy Spirit upon the faithful was accompanied by extraordinary graces ; of these the most conspicuous are the gift of miracles, and the gift of tongues, both strikingly manifested on the occasion of which we speak.

Of the gift of miracles little need here be said since, though never again so lavishly bestowed, it has never been entirely withdrawn from the Church. Where there is faith there may always be miracles, and when they are needed they occur ; nor, to the Catholic, is the notion of miracle either strange or surprising. The gift of tongues presents greater difficulties. This, the most mysterious of the special graces by which God manifested His presence in the infant Church, was also the most swiftly withdrawn. St John Chrysostom (d. 407), comments on the difficulty of ascertaining its character, especially as no case of its occurrence later than the second century seems to be known. In the present instance the crowd which St Peter addressed had been collected by the wonder of hearing Galileans uttering the praise of God in unknown tongues ; languages, that is, which they had never learned. The crowd, itself polyglot, marvelled as it listened, and exclaimed at hearing the Apostles speak "in our own tongues the wonderful works of God." They heard, but apparently did not understand, since they suggest that the Apostles might be "drunken with new wine." At a later period we shall find St Paul warning his own converts against making use of the gift of tongues when there is no interpreter present ;

and from his words we gather that the speakers themselves did not understand what they were saying: "For if I pray in a tongue, my spirit prayeth: but my understanding is without fruit." (1 Cor. xiv, 14, cf. also v, 1-29.)

It appears, then, that, being exalted out of themselves by the Holy Spirit, those having the gift of tongues uttered in their ecstasy words which they did not understand themselves, and of which the hearers understood at most no more than the general tenor. St Paul ranks this lowest among the spiritual gifts and tells his converts not to desire it but, if they have it, to pray for the gift of interpretation also.

2. COMMUNITY OF PROPERTY

The second point to be noticed is the community of property observed by the Christians of Jerusalem. The fact that they had "all things in common" is sometimes advanced as a justification of certain modern political theories. This is to misunderstand the facts. Community of property was never a custom of the early Church in general; it was a local practice which never obtained outside Jerusalem,¹ and which the Apostles never suggested, even as a counsel of perfection, to the other Christian groups. It soon died out altogether. It was then, a strictly limited and temporary practice; and, as we see from the words of St Peter to Ananias, (Acts v, 3 and 4), it was completely voluntary. The sin of Ananias was not that he did not give all his property but that he pretended to give all, whereas he only gave part. While it was in his possession he was at liberty to dispose of it in whatever manner and proportion he desired (*ibid.*).

Hence this custom of the Jerusalem Christians is quite irrelevant to the political theory called "Communism." Like the voluntary poverty of the religious orders, it wholly depended on the original right of the owners to the property they freely abjured.

¹ Certain traditions suggest that St Mark introduced it into Alexandria; but if so it soon lapsed.

II

ST PAUL

BEFORE entering upon the subject of the conversion of St Paul it will be useful to consider who he was, and where he came from. The saint himself answers both questions. He was "of the stock of Israel, of the tribe of Benjamin, an Hebrew of the Hebrews, according to the Law a Pharisee." (Phil. iii, 5.) And again, "I am a Jew of Tarsus in Cilicia, a citizen of no mean city." (Acts xxi, 39.) We can hardly understand St Paul without first having some little idea of what this Tarsus was.

Cilicia and Tarsus. Cilicia is the district in the south-east corner of Asia Minor. It is a narrow strip of coastal plain lying between the mountain range of Taurus and the sea. East and west, between twenty and thirty miles from the shore, runs Taurus, a huge and rugged wall, dominating all the land. From the mountains to the sea flow rivers, for ever shifting their courses and losing themselves in the sand, and on two of these rivers, the Pyramus and the Cydnus, were built two towns, Mallos and Tarsus, age long rivals for commercial supremacy. Tarsus prevailed, partly because the treacherous Pyramus gradually silted up the rival port; far more because of the extraordinary energy of its citizens.

Ten miles from Tarsus lay the sea, to which the Cydnus gave no easy access, for it dissipated itself in marshes and then "widened itself to a lake through which it slopped to the sea."¹ Behind Tarsus lay that

¹ *St Paul*, C. C. Martindale, s.j.

tremendous barricade, the vast broken plateau of Taurus with passes sometimes seventy miles long. Only at a few points can it be crossed, and in winter even these passes are choked with snow. Behind Taurus was pent the rich flood of Asiatic trade.

There was a narrow gorge through Taurus, just opposite Tarsus, and originally the bed of a stream. This the Tarsians hewed out by hand through 600 feet of solid rock and made a road fit for wheeled traffic, the famous Cilician Gates. And Tarsus became the centre of communication for Cilicia, Cappadocia, and Assyria, and obtained the trade of all three. But Tarsus had no port, as has been said. She treated her river, Cleopatra's famous Cydnus, with scant courtesy, "positively threw it about," says one author, and, by extraordinary feats of engineering, turned her lake into a harbour and procured safe access to the sea. Thus she became without question the chief city of Cilicia.

Tarsus itself was a town of long memories. Greeks, Persians and Jews had at different times added themselves to the native population. But their influence had never been more than external. Tarsus retained her ancient gods, Baal Tarz (Lord of Tarsus) and "Sandon." Neither Greek nor Persian succeeded in eradicating the worship of the beneficent powers, of nature, the deities of corn and wine, which Tarsus shared with all Asia Minor. And, in spite of their deliberate, and in part successful, attempt to set up the machinery of even advanced Greek culture the Tarsians never became Hellenised.

By the time of St Paul's birth, however, the Tarsians had added to their old pride in being citizens of Tarsus the greater pride of being citizens of Rome. There were now in the city three grades of civic rank ; aliens who, whatever their length of residence, had no political rights ; then citizens of Tarsus, and within that group

the smaller group of the wealthiest and most powerful families, who were also citizens of Rome ; and the prosperous city felt a great pride in this connection with the magnificent Empire.

It was, then, in a city of great achievements, " no mean city," and with a strong civic and imperial life that St Paul was born, a member, despite his Jewish nationality, of that selected group in which those prides were strongest. And though he spent much of his youth at Jerusalem, under the tutorship of Gamaliel, and was " a Hebrew of the Hebrews," he never lost his pride in Tarsus, or his sense of what it was to be a citizen of Rome, and his thought is often coloured by his consciousness of the mighty Empire and her laws.

Conversion of St Paul. Since St Paul appears never to have seen Our Lord in the flesh he cannot have been in Palestine during the period of His public life. He returned, however, in time " to be consenting to the death " of Stephen, and then became known for the special zeal with which he attacked the Christians. It was for that very purpose that he took the journey to Damascus, and on the road heard the Lord's voice : " Saul, Saul, why persecutest thou Me." An exposition of all the implications of St Paul's conversion must be sought in other works ; here only the most salient points can be noted. St Paul many times in the Epistles reiterates the sincerity with which he had attacked the Christians ; it was to him a never ceasing cause of self-reproach : " I am not worthy to be called an Apostle because I persecuted the Church of God." (I Cor. xv, 9.) But he had thought he was doing God service. But, proves the vision on the Damascus road, it is Christ Who is God. Christ becomes therefore at once and for ever, the centre of his life ; the cause and the object of his work : " That in all things God may be honoured through Jesus Christ our Lord " (I Peter iv, 7-11), or,

as Paul himself puts it "For to me to live is Christ—and to die is gain." (Phil. i, 21.) And, as the Fathers will say later, the heart of Paul is as the Heart of Christ.

The narrative of the next few days is clear enough—(Acts ix)—but for what immediately follows we must supplement the Acts by St Paul's own account in the Epistle to the Galatians: (Gal. i, 17). He did not at once begin to preach; he went into the deserts of Arabia and remained there alone, for perhaps two years. What passed there we can only guess, but we know from his own words that he received his Gospel not from men "but by the revelation of Jesus Christ" (Gal. i, 12): received it with such clearness and certitude that he is not afraid to say: "Though an angel from heaven preach a gospel to you besides that which we have preached to you, let him be anathema." (Gal. i, 8.) "Worthy of being specially offered by us to God is that secret sojourn of St Paul in Arabia, in gratitude for the wonderful things then done by God in that great soul."¹

St Paul returned to Damascus, and preached there until he was driven out. He fled to Jerusalem, and again the Jews rose against him. St Paul therefore retired to Tarsus, where he remained for perhaps five years. Thus immediately began the fulfilment of those words of God to Ananias which so poignantly reveal what manner of man the converted Pharisee was: "I will shew him how great things he must suffer for My name's sake." (Acts ix, 16.)

The First Preaching to the Gentiles. Thus St Paul waits while others begin the work of his apostolate. We have seen already how the net of the Gospel was being flung in an ever-widening sweep, Jew, Samaritan, proselyte. Now St Peter, taught by the vision of the vessel that was let down from heaven,

¹ *St Paul*, C. C. Martindale.

baptises the Roman centurion, Cornelius (Acts x and xi). Justified by his words and example others, of whom we know nothing save that they were natives of Cyprus and Cyrene, being in Antioch, "spoke also to the Greeks, preaching the Lord Jesus"; and here first were the believers called "Christians." And this, perhaps some ten or twelve years from the first Whitsunday, was the first definite preaching of Christ to the Gentiles, those neither Jews by birth nor in religious sympathy.

Barnabas, already known for a certain largeness and generosity in his charity, and a power of sympathy which had gained him his title "Son of Consolation," was sent thither. He immediately fetched St Paul, whose first friend he had been.

St Paul, even during his brief stay at Jerusalem, had received the Divine mandate: "Go, for unto the Gentiles afar off will I send thee." (Acts xxii, 20.) But he does not act upon it until he has been fetched by Barnabas, and that mandate repeated through the Church. Even then he leaves the command to Barnabas until he is, as it were, divinely forced into the first place. The First Missionary Journey is not begun until the word of the Spirit comes to the faithful of Antioch: "Separate me Saul and Barnabas for the work whereunto I have taken them." (Acts xiii, 2.) Least of all would St Paul have us forget either the initiative of St Peter, or those obscure Apostles, "men of Cyprus and Cyrene," who, in Antioch, preached the Lord Jesus to the Greeks.

NOTES

I. SEQUENCE OF TIME

We know from the historian Josephus that the Herod Agrippa of the first chapters of Acts died in A.D. 44. Paul had been recalled to Antioch before this—(Acts xi, 26)—remained there a year (*idem*, 27), and was then sent to

Jerusalem with Barnabas. "At the same time" Agrippa begins the persecution in which St James was martyred and St Peter imprisoned—(Acts xii). Soon after, in 44, sometime, Agrippa dies. Soon after again Saul and Barnabas who have returned to Antioch, set forth on the First Missionary Journey, probably in the spring of 45, or, perhaps, 46.

2. ANTIOCH IN SYRIA

Antioch, the chief city of Syria, prosperous and beautiful, but with great moral evils and a corrupt form of nature worship.

III

ACTS XIII-XV, 35

THE FIRST MISSIONARY JOURNEY AND THE COUNCIL OF JERUSALEM

SUMMARY

- (a) C. xiii. Vocation of Saul and Barnabas : Mission to Cyprus : conversion of Sergius Paulus : Departure to Antioch in Pisidia, thence to Iconium.
- C. xiv. Preaching in Iconium, Lystra, Derbe : Return through Pisidia to Antioch in Syria.
- (b) C. xv, 35. Controversy about Mosaic Law : Council of Jerusalem.

THE FIRST MISSIONARY JOURNEY

Barnabas and Saul, commissioned to preach the Gospel to the pagans, sailed, probably in March or April, A.D. 46, from Antioch in Syria to the Island of Cyprus, accompanied by John Mark—(Mark the Evangelist).

Barnabas was still the leader of the party, especially as he was a native of Cyprus, a fact which had probably dictated the choice of their first mission field. They landed at Salamis, a harbour at the east end of the island, and made their way on foot to Paphos, its chief town which was in the west, thus traversing the whole length of the isle.

Cyprus. The beautiful and fertile island had early been colonised by the Greeks, and with them had mingled Phœnician settlers from Tyre and Sidon whose

influence affected not only the character but the religion of the inhabitants. Aphrodite, goddess of beauty and desire, was the principal deity of the island; so associated with her worship that she took from it her name of Cypris. But into her cult had entered darker and wilder traits derived from the worship of the Phœnician Astarte and connected with those sacred groves of trees to which the Old Testament refers with horror. At this time Cyprus had long been in the hands of Rome, and the Apostles, when they reached Paphos, chief of the three famous shrines of Aphrodite which the island owned, found there in residence the Roman governor, Sergius Paulus.

Magic bulked very large in Cyprian belief, and Sergius Paulus, whose wisdom is noted in the Acts, himself kept beside him, perhaps from motives of curiosity, a magician called Elymas. Upon him St Paul performed a miracle, thus giving to his work the most impressive sanction which the islanders admitted, and convincing even the proconsul, who was indeed too wise not to recognise Divine power when he saw it.

From this moment, the first in which Christianity had really come into contact with the mighty civilisation of the west, St Paul, himself a Roman, took the lead. And it is now that he discarded the Jewish name, Saul, which few would respect. Most foreigners who held the Roman citizenship took a Roman name in addition to their own; that of our saint presumably was Paulus, and now that he had definitely turned his face to the western world it was natural that he should use his western name, especially as Jews, however influential when in groups, were despised as individuals.

St Paul had no sooner assumed direction of the expedition than he made straight for the great mainland of Asia Minor; the party sailing north from Cyprus to Perge, a harbour on the coast of Pamphylia, the region west of Cilicia.

Perhaps because they reached the town during the summer, when all who could deserted the malaria-stricken plain for the foot-hills of Taurus, no long pause was made at Perge, and Paul and Barnabas—Mark having left them—struck inland over the Taurus to Antioch of Pisidia.

A road ran from Perge to Antioch; but no roads over the Taurus were good, and many inscriptions bear witness to the dangers which travellers on this one were exposed, whether from robbers or from rivers in flood. The journey could be accomplished in eight days' hard travel, the first part rendered even more trying by the climate which, in Pamphylia, shut in by the Taurus and with little wind, is enervating to an extreme. And this, perhaps, is a good place to mention that St Paul, like St Basil after him, had always to contend with the obstacle of his own constant ill-health. It was not then without trouble that he and his companion at length, perhaps at the latter end of July, found themselves within Antioch of Pisidia.

Pisidia was a mountainous district whose turbulent inhabitants retained their old customs and religion in spite of the influence of the Hellenised city of Antioch, founded by the Syro-Greek monarch, Seleucus Nikator.

Antioch. The town of Antioch was favourably situated on a plateau cut out by a river and was wealthy and flourishing. About a century before this it had been erected into a Roman colony, and the inhabitants were a motley group made up of Greeks, Romans, Jews, and the Phrygians who were native to the soil. Greek culture had taken firm hold; but Roman influence was naturally predominant on the administrative side. Nevertheless Antioch, always apparently, a religious centre, retained the native beliefs. The chief god, Men (The Great God), was evidently one of the nature deities customary in Asia Minor; for the Greeks believed

him to be the same as their wine-god, Dionysius. They also worshipped Cybele, the "Great Mother," who, under various titles, was the principal deity of Asia Minor. St Paul will meet her again at Ephesus, for it was she really who was worshipped there as Artemis of the Ephesians (the Acts give the Roman name, Diana).

The great towns of Asia Minor, administrative and commercial centres, influenced but little, in essentials, the surrounding country, which was mainly pastoral and agricultural. The peasant of these regions naturally paid his vows to the gods who made the crops grow, and bestowed the water which turned his hot but fertile uplands to gardens wherever it flowed. This worship of the beneficent powers of nature affected even such towns as, like Antioch, owed their importance to their military strength or to their trade.

The Jews, a powerful body in Antioch, themselves seem to have become somewhat lax since, though they had their synagogues, they are mentioned as holding civic offices from which strict Jews would have been debarred. Such was the first Asiatic city where the Gospel was preached.

It was always St Paul's custom to appeal first to the Jews, so, on the Sabbath of his arrival, he went to their synagogue, and, being invited to speak, preached the first of his sermons recorded in the Acts.

The first half of his address—(Acts xiii, 17-25) was especially directed to the Jews by birth, and represents Christ as the fulfilment of the Jewish prophecy that the Messiah would be the Son of David. Then, (v. 26), coming to speak more particularly of Jesus, he repeats, very emphatically his opening phrase which especially included the proselytes ("you that fear God"). "Men, brethren, children of the stock of Abraham, and whosoever among you fear God, to you the word of this salvation is sent." Thus having made clear that

his message is not to the Chosen People alone, he announces the Passion and Resurrection of Christ, appealing again to the Hebrew prophecies which so had been fulfilled. Finally he comes to the point, the emphatic assertion of which is one of the special characteristics of Pauline teaching, namely, that the Law cannot free from sin ; but that the remission of sin is by the blood of Christ.

On the whole, however, this sermon was designed to appeal chiefly to Jews, many of whom, with proselytes, begged both him and Barnabas to speak to them again on the next Sabbath.

During the week rumours of the new teaching spread through the city and awakened so great a curiosity that on the next Sabbath the synagogue was thronged : " And the Jews, seeing the multitudes, were filled with envy, and contradicted those things that were said by Paul."

Laxity of religious practice can quite well go with extreme jealousy of religious privilege. Thus it was in this case. But, if they hoped to silence St Paul, they deceived themselves. For St Paul met their " contradictions " with the round statement that their rejection condemned only themselves, and that, since they have condemned themselves, " behold we turn to the Gentiles." The Gentiles were ready converts, so that " the word of the Lord was published throughout the whole country."

The opposition of the Jews ran what will prove to be the usual course with the Jewish opponents of St Paul ; first, the direct attempt to silence him, then the appeal to the civil power to expel or punish him. In this case the Jews found their best allies among the women. In these regions women wielded much greater power than further in the east, and women, it is proverbial, are very conservative, and very much alive to the dangers of religious or other innovation. With

their help the civil authority of Antioch was easily persuaded to regard both saints as dangerous disturbers of peace and order, and to expel them with violence.

Iconium. About twenty-seven hours' journey to the south-east, on a level plateau sheltered by mountains, was the city of Iconium (modern Konia). A river fertilised its soil, and the interests of the town were primarily commercial and agricultural. As the place had no military importance the Romans left it to be governed by its own magistrates, and the Roman element was missing from its population. The prevalent worship was that of Cybele, here honoured not only as bestower of the invaluable river, but as author of the local mines of quicksilver and copper. The Jews, however, were an influential body, as was usual wherever commerce existed. For a time the two Apostles were able peacefully to pursue a labour graced by miracles. The Jews had to proceed slowly, for the local magistrates did not choose to act, and there was no one else at hand to whom they could appeal. Finally they succeeded in engineering a riot, and the Apostles departed six hours' journey south-west to the city of Lystra.

Lystra. That brief journey along the Via Sebaste took them to a different world. First passing through a mile or two of garden-suburb they reached the gently sloping plain which led upward to the hill country of Isauria where, on a low hill enriched by two streams, stood the quiet old-fashioned city of Lystra.

Commerce and change had passed it by ; even the road to Syria which made the place of sufficient importance to become a Roman colony, had not altered the character of the town. The two streams on which it was built were its very life ; for its people were still fast rooted to the soil whence all their riches were

derived. Though they understood Greek it had not ousted their native tongue, and, like most agricultural peoples, they seem to have had a keen sense of the supernatural. St Paul had by this time enough experience of these hot Asiatic uplands, where the rich soil was yet barren without the rare and precious rivers, to see at once how to appeal to the inhabitants of such a town as Lystra.

His entry had been signalled by a miracle, the sight of which convinced the people that the very gods had come down in the likeness of men, an error the commercialised dwellers in Iconium were apparently too sophisticated to fall into. St Paul only prevented their attempt to do sacrifice by an appeal which proves how readily he adapted himself to the special circumstances of each place where he preached. He had learned the lesson that the country people drew their life from the soil, as children from their mother, and he spoke neither of prophecy, nor even of sin, but of "the living God Who made the heavens and the earth and the sea, and all things that are in them . . . doing good from heaven, giving rains and fruitful seasons, filling our hearts with food and gladness."

But Lystra was as ready to slay as to adore. Their very impulsiveness laid the people open to the suggestions of the Jews, speculators in the harvest it is supposed, who came thither from Antioch and Iconium. They were still perhaps a little sore that their new-found gods were men after all. Riot was raised; the erstwhile idol stoned, and what they thought his corpse cast out of the city. But Paul was not dead, and the next day he went with Barnabas to Derbe.

Derbe. Derbe, on the south-east edge of the Lycaonian plain, and west of Lystra, had marsh-land to the north and its own soil was covered with a thin low scrub. Its only importance was derived from its position on the frontier, and the fact that for strategical

purposes a military road had been built by the Romans thence to Antioch of Pisidia.

Derbe, then, offered no temptation to harvest speculators, or any kind of Jew, and in its quiet backwater the Apostles enjoyed a period of peaceful labour in which they "taught many."

After their stay in Derbe the two missionaries returned by the way they had come. At first sight this might seem rather rash conduct, since the other cities had so recently and violently expelled them. That was not an objection, however, which St Paul would have considered very forcible, and besides the danger was not as great as it appeared. The magistrates had only summary powers, and moreover they were changed in the autumn. In Lystra, especially, Paul's position was strong, for he was a Roman citizen and there had been violence without trial.

On the journey they occupied themselves chiefly with organising the newly founded Churches. But on reaching Pamphylia they repaired their former omission, preached the Gospel in Perge, and then set sail for Antioch in Syria, which they reached some time in A.D. 49.

THE COUNCIL OF JERUSALEM

The Judaisers. Paul and Barnabas had not been long in Antioch ere difficulties arose. "Some, coming down from Judea," raised the contention which was to be a thorn in St Paul's flesh for the whole of his apostolic career. These people laid it down that "except you be circumcised after the manner of Moses you cannot be saved."

The Jews, even as Christians, were unwilling to lose their old prerogative. It was not more easy then than now to realise the truth that God is no respecter of persons, and is able, even from the very stones, to raise up children to Abraham. But this was more than

a mere outburst of national jealousy retaining for us only the interest of history ; it was the first appearance of a multi-formed error, the error that would make salvation depend on something other than the Blood of Christ. That this is error the Catholic Church has ever unvaryingly taught ; but, as now with the Judaisers, for so these disturbers are named, or with the Pelagians, the Albigenians, and even the Calvinists, she has ever had to contend with those who by ever-varying perversions, whether of will or reason, binding where God did not bind, and loosing what He has not loosed, imply that there was something wanting in the Passion of Christ.

In the present instance the error is clear enough ; for “ if justice be by the Law,” if circumcision be essential, “ to what purpose was this waste ” that Christ should have been sacrificed ? In such a case St Paul’s action could not be doubtful, even though the success of his apostolate to the Gentiles had not been so much imperilled as in fact it was by this teaching. Not himself proving able to convince the Judaisers, he appealed to the Church of Jerusalem, that is to say, to St Peter, for a ruling.

He had scarcely reached Jerusalem ere converted Pharisees renewed the strife, a foretaste of what the saint was to experience almost everywhere that he preached the faith, as by the Epistles to the Romans, Philippians and Galatians we easily perceive. At the moment, however, the heresy seemed to be in a fair way to be killed almost at its birth.

The Council. When the question had been long discussed by “ the Apostles and ancients ” St Peter rose and announced his decision, namely, that the salvation of all, whether Jew or Gentile, depended on the grace of Jesus Christ (Acts xv, 11). “ And all the multitude held their peace.” On the motion of St James this decision, together with some disciplinary

injunctions, was embodied in a decree which Saints Paul and Barnabas were instructed to promulgate in the churches they had established. The Council then broke up, and the two missionaries, having announced the decision in Antioch, prepared for their second journey.

Idol Sacrifices. Before accompanying St Paul again to Asia it will be well to say at once all that need be said about the clause in the decree bidding the faithful abstain from things sacrificed to idols (Acts xv, 23-29) ; the rest being clear enough.

Pagan worship at this time was made up of sacrifices. The number of beasts sacrificed at any temple in the course of a year was enormous. All the meat that could not be used by the priests, or in the sacrificial feasts, was sold in open market ; in fact the bulk of the supply was derived from this source. How far could a Christian join in these sacrificial feasts ? Could he purchase such meat for his own use ? In regard to the first question it must be noted that these feasts and ceremonials formed so integral a part of Pagan public life that the Christian, if debarred from them, could hardly hope to enter any profession. The whole problem is one St Paul had to deal with in Corinth and we here summarise his interpretation of the Jerusalem Decree.

Though the Pagan gods were nothing in themselves yet, as the Pagan religion was the antithesis of Christianity, its worship, in so far as it was not paid to God, was paid to the devil. Participation in these banquets was considered an act of worship ; the Christian, not intending it as such might not actually sin ; but he nevertheless gave scandal, not only to his fellow-believer, supposing that he had not grasped this distinction, but also to the Pagan. Further, he could not rely on his ability to remain spiritually detached from a worship in which he materially joined, and therefore,

at whatever cost of worldly advantage, from this practice he must ever abstain. As for the purchasing of such meat, which was really unavoidable in the circumstances ; this in itself was a matter of indifference. Scandal was not to be given, but it was not to become an occasion of scruples. (I Cor. viii-x.)

IV

ACTS xv, 36-xviii, 22

THE SECOND MISSIONARY JOURNEY

SUMMARY

- C. xv. Separation of Paul and Barnabas : Paul retraces his former route.
- C. xvi. Travels through Galatia, Mysia, to Troas : crosses to Macedon : is imprisoned at Philippi.
- C. xvii. Preaches in Thessalonica, Berea, Athens.
- C. xviii. Preaching at Corinth : trial before Gallio : return to Jerusalem.

COMMENTARY

Christ in Asia

The beginning of the Second Missionary Journey was marked by misfortune. Barnabas wished to take Mark who had left them the first time, and Paul refused. Barnabas therefore went to Cyprus with Mark, and Paul, taking Silas, already well known to him, went north from Antioch to Cilicia.

Whatever had been Paul's reason for a severity so unlike him, he was in after years to make generous amends for all that might have seemed too harsh. "Take Mark and bring him with thee," he writes to Timothy from the imprisonment that martyrdom ended : "He is profitable to me for the ministry." A summons in such a moment, the moment of peril and of loneliness—"Only Luke is with me"—was less an

amends than a reward ; but it was characteristic of Paul, whose experience of the Divine liberality impressed on even his minor actions the seal of a larger world. . . . "Theirs was the giant age before the Flood"; a more heroic scale of action and of thought.

It was probably about the year 50 that Paul and Silas passed through the Cilician Gates and, beginning at the end, retraced this former route until they reached Antioch in Pisidia. By the time they had reached that city they had been joined by one who was to be henceforward one of St Paul's most faithful and loving disciples.

Timothy, child of a Jewish mother and a Pagan father, had obtained the good opinion of all, both in Lystra and Iconium. In later years Paul wrote to him with very evident confidence and affection, recalling "the faith unfeigned, which also dwelt first in thy grandmother Lois and in thy mother Eunice and I am certain in thee also." (II Tim. i, 5.) At the time of this Epistle, Timothy, it appears, was Bishop in Ephesus ; but at this period when he first joined St Paul he seems to have been little more than a boy.

At Antioch they were on the border of the Roman province of Asia, and Paul's thoughts now turned to that rich and populous country, scattered with towns whose names go back to the dawn of western history, when Crete was a nation, and Rome not the shadow of a name. Not yet, however, was Asia to hear the name of Christ, and Paul set his face toward Bithynia on the northern coast, travelling thither, it would appear, by the way of Northern Galatia.¹

St Luke tells us almost nothing about this Galatian journey ; but this is the less surprising as it appears from the Epistle to the Galatians that Paul was ill at

¹ Controversy rages upon this point ; the view here taken is that of Lagrange.

the time. But we know at least who these Galatians were.

The Galatians. During the third century B.C., Gauls, of the same race as those who settled in France, entered Greece from the Danube. Certain groups moved, bag and baggage, over to Asia Minor, and three tribes of these, being defeated by the King of Pergamos (252 B.C.) settled down about the borders of Cappadocia, Pontus and Phrygia. A warlike people they preserved their independence under the overlordship of Rome until 25 B.C. ; but at that date Rome created the Province of Galatia, which comprehended not only Galatia proper, but also the southern districts of Lycaonia, Isauria, and so on. But, though inscriptions prove that Greek was understood, the true Galatians remained quite distinct in language, custom, and character, from the southern peoples. Of their character we can learn something from the Epistle St Paul addressed to them.

¹In spite of the illness by which he was naturally much hampered, the Galatians welcomed Paul with enthusiasm—"as an angel of God," he writes, adding, "If it could be done you would have plucked out your own eyes and would have given them to me." Yet ere long he has to rebuke them for their instability ; for the commotion the Judaisers, who swiftly arrived, were able to raise : "I wonder that you are so soon removed from him that called you into the grace of Christ, unto another gospel." (Gal. i.)

The Galatians then had the defects of their qualities ; their impressionability issued in instability, and, like their kinsmen in France, they were overeager "to adore what they had burned, and burn what they had adored." They cost Paul much trouble and, perhaps for that reason, remained very near to his heart.

In what towns he preached is not known, perhaps

¹ Cf. Gal. ii, *passim*,

at Ancyra. Galatia in any case was a rugged region, in which travelling was not easy for an invalid, and it is therefore probable that the Apostle neither penetrated very far, nor remained very long.

When Bithynia was at length reached Paul found it also closed to him, and therefore turned west through Mysia to Troas, a harbour on the north-west coast.

At Troas Paul was surrounded by places famed for ever in the poetry of Greece, for it was the very scene of Homer's *Iliad*. Troy had been there, and there flowed Simois and Scamander. South lay what had been Ionia, the home of philosophy and arts, torn by intestine strife, ravaged by Persia, and now ruled by Rome. West across the blue *Ægean* lay Macedon, whence Alexander came to conquer the earth; this way had he marched, and not far hence Darius had fallen, while, as for Alexander:—

“ Lord of the world he thundered on
To die at thirty-five in Babylon.”

Southward beyond the sea was Greece itself, the crown of the ancient world, endowed with every gift but that of remaining what she was, her history at once a triumph and a failure.

More to Paul's mind, however, was the thought that there was Europe, the continent that had not heard of Christ; and while he waited at Troas there came a vision, and a man stood before him saying: “Come over into Macedonia and help us.” And St Paul went.

Accompanied by Luke, now for the first time appearing in person in the narrative, Paul sailed north-west from Troas, and, passing Samothrace, best remembered now by a statue,¹ reached Neapolis on the north coast of the *Ægean*, on the borders of Macedonia and Thrace. There he landed, about twenty years after the founda-

¹ The famous “Winged Victory.”

tion of the Church, and with him Christ landed in Europe.

Christ in Europe

Paul and his companions went from Neapolis to Philippi of which it was the port ; Philippi, its very name recalling the great Macedonian ruler ; and itself the monument of that battle¹ where Brutus, champion of the old order, and lover of the city state, was defeated less by Antony and Augustus, than by the imperial destiny of Rome :

“ Lest one good custom should corrupt the world.”

Not inappropriately, then, was the battlefield of Philippi the gate through which the advance guard of the new invasion entered irrevocably the west and, in the persons of a convert Pharisee, and a Hellenic physician, began the slow inevitable march which was, even there in the Imperial City, to substitute for the symbolic purple of Cæsar the white robes of the Vicar of Christ.

Macedonia. The region Paul had now entered was one in which the very trees were eloquent of legend and of myth. Thrace to the north was the scene of many a wild tale, Thessaly to the south had its own reputation as the home of magic ; and the whole country had been a chief centre of the worship of Dionysus Zagreus. From these country districts, far from the centres of Greek life, that old, primitive, and savage worship which the invading Greeks had found when they entered the land in the dawn of history, had never been expelled ; nay, even in the south it ever remained just below the surface, ready to break through in rites of startling and incongruous savagery. Here in the north it had hardly even been over laid, and perhaps even in Paul's time,

¹ Battle of Philippi, B.C. 43.

there remained traces of those wild and grotesque rites which were here associated with the genial name of Dionysus, the wine god, and which, like another ceremony popular long after this in the west, add a new significance to the Biblical dictum that God is not propitiated by the blood of bulls.

Philippi. Paul's fortunes in Philippi followed the usual course save in two respects ; that he is accused of advocating practices which were illegal for Romans, of being a rebel, not merely a disturber of the peace ; and that he for the first time, appeals to his citizenship of Rome : and, from the effect of this on the magistrates, we can learn how genuine an advantage the citizenship was. " Paul said to them : ' They have beaten us publicly, uncondemned, men that are Romans, and have cast us into prison. And now do they thrust us out privately ? Not so ; but let them come and let us out ourselves.' And the sergeants told these words to the magistrates, *And they were afraid, hearing that they were Romans.* And coming they besought them : and bringing them out they desired them to depart out of the city." (Acts xvi, 37-39.)

Thessalonica. South and east of Philippi was the city of Thessalonica which two thousand years later was to win an ill-fame under the name of Salonika. Thither Paul repaired, the more readily that there was a synagogue there. Luke's classification of the converts made therein is significant. Of the Jews he says " Some of them believed. And of those who served God (proselytes), and of the Gentiles, a great multitude : and of noble women not a few." The Church here founded Paul will later address with great affection : " Grace be to you and peace. We give thanks to God always for you." (I Thess. i, 2.) And again : " We are bound to give thanks always for you brethren as it is fitting,

because your faith groweth exceedingly and the charity of every one of you towards each other aboundeth." (II Thess. i, 3.)

In Thessalonica the accusations speedily made against Paul took a form even more definite than at Philippi. Specially privileged in having the status of a free city, Thessalonica was governed by its own officials, and was naturally anxious to preserve its advantages by being above suspicion in its loyalty. The Jews then chose their indictment wisely: "These all do contrary to the decrees of Cæsar, saying that there is another king, Jesus." (Acts xvii, 7.) The servant is not greater than his master; and these words recall that other menace to Pilate: "If thou release this man thou art no friend to Cæsar." The enemies of the Church always strive to set her in opposition to the Civil Power; falsely alleging a natural rivalry between the claims of Christ and of Cæsar. That assertion had been disproved by anticipation in the Gospel, it was to be again refuted by Paul himself in the Epistle to the Romans (Romans xiii, 1-7), and for the moment it failed of its effect. For the magistrates only bound over St Paul's host to keep the peace, and though this involved the departure of the saint, it was but an empty triumph for the Jews.

Berea. St Paul made his way to the neighbouring town of Berea, where he had an interlude of peace all too short, for the Jews of Thessalonica, hearing of his success with the Bereans, made their way thither, and the converts urged Paul to depart. He, therefore, leaving Silas and Timothy behind for the moment, set sail southward down the coast to Athens.

On his right hand as he journeyed lay a land enriched with the most famous names in the world. Visible from the ship was Mount Olympus, fabled the abode of Zeus, father of gods and men. Further south the hills of Pelion and Ossa recalled that ancient story of the

war against the gods ; when the Titans, the giant children of earth, would have scaled the heavens, piling Pelion on Ossa to reach the height. Inland, could the eye have seen so far, lay Thermopylæ, where the Spartan King with his three hundred men withstood the unnumbered armies of Persia :

“ Go, tell to Sparta, thou that passest by,
That here, obedient to her laws, we lie.”

Delphi also, where the oracle of Apollo gave baffling answers, and Helicon, home of the muses, were there. And, as the ship rounded the headland and turned north again towards Athens, there was Salamis, scene of the sea battle most famous of all :

“ A King sat on the rocky brow
Which looks o’er sea borne Salamis ;
And ships, by thousands lay below,
And men in nations ;—all were his.
He counted them at break of day—
And when the sun set, where were they ? ”

But the Greece Paul knew, the Athens he was about to enter, had little left in common with that Greece which had routed Xerxes. She who had defeated Persia had fallen an easy prey to Rome, and the peoples whose names had once seemed synonymous with liberty were now contented slaves. Even in arts this Greece was corrupt, ready to reward with facile prizes the music and verse of the half mad Cæsar whose reign saw the martyrdom of Peter and of Paul ; and all the thought she had left was the dream of a shadow. Paul entered Athens, crowned by the yet unruined temple of the Maiden,¹ rich with the sculptures of Phidias, yet but the shell of what she once had been. Somewhere on his way from the harbour he saw an altar, inscribed with its vague dedication to “ whatever god had influence in that place.” The hint was not lost.

¹ The Parthenon.

Athens. The Berean companions of the saint had gone home with instructions to send on Silas and Timothy, and St Paul explored Athens alone. He found it to be an outworn university town, living on the fame of greater days, jealous of its reputation, disputing in an empty wordplay, critical to a degree, restless, ineffectual, blind to its own futility, and, says St Luke, "his spirit was stirred within him."

Athens was full of preachers and talkers; no one realised that the despised Hebrew was saying anything of special interest until "certain philosophers of the Stoics and Epicureans," with that craving for novelty simply because it is novelty which is the symptom of a decaying culture, brought him to the hill Areopagus to hear what he had to say.

Doctrine of Epicureans and Stoics. This was an audience such as Paul had never yet addressed; such an audience as he might obtain to-day in the Senior Common Room of an undenominational college; curious about a fresh view of subjects they all dabbled in more or less, and very willing to put a new-comer, who apparently professed to know something, through his intellectual paces. And even so they were not at one. The Epicureans held that happiness was to be sought in judiciously ordered pleasure, and that neither earth or heaven held aught else to give or to desire. The Stoics looked for peace in self-annihilation; in the rooting out of every human passion, and a final absorption—if by suicide so much the better—in some vague impersonal being which was Nature, or was God. "As for thy life, consider what it is; a wind," writes the Stoic Emperor Marcus Aurelius; and again, he bids himself "To expect death as being nothing else, but the dissolution of those elements of which every creature is composed"; elements which will recombine to form some other thing, again to break, and be dissolved. To an audience

thus constituted what was Paul the Apostle to say? No one can read the speech recorded in the seventeenth chapter of Acts without realising that the Apostle was indeed making a very special effort. Always, as we saw at Lystra, he adapted his methods to the character of his audience; and here, at Athens, he began by trying to startle the jaded attention of his audience into a genuine interest: "Ye men of Athens, I perceive that in all things you are too superstitious." Probably this was the last thing of which either Stoic or Epicurean believed they could be accused. For both groups prided themselves on their elevation above the multitude, and on their devotion to reason. But the following verses contain little that would be new to either. As far back as the dawn of Greek philosophy Xenophanes had reached, though tentatively, the conception of One God the Creator. Socrates, Plato, and Aristotle, had successively developed the idea; Aristotle indeed had definitely laid down that this God, Causer uncaused, was the true end of creatures. And neither Stoic or Epicurean was, in any real sense, an idolater. They could listen with complacency to the exposition which runs from verse 24 to verse 30 of St Luke's record. Even then, when Paul declares that "all men should everywhere do penance," he was enunciating a principle with which the Stoics, at least, had some sympathy; though stoic and Christian asceticism are two very different things. But when he proclaimed a general judgment to be carried out by one raised from the dead, that was indeed a different matter. Neither set believed in personal immortality. "When death is, we are not," said Epicurus, and, as for the Stoic view: "As a dream, or as a smoke, are all things that belong to the soul." St Paul's audience took refuge in the last resort of the intellectually conceited when confronted with a new idea, it laughed. Some of the more courteous tried to cover the fiasco

with a promise of another hearing in the future. "So Paul went out from among them." "To the Jews a stumbling block : to the Greeks foolishness " ; never again will St Paul fight Sophists with their own weapons. "My preaching was not in the persuasive words of human wisdom ; but in shewing of the Spirit and power," he wrote to the Corinthians, to whom he preached just after this incident describing the policy he adopted there after this experience. Even Paul the Apostle could do nothing with an audience to which a philosophic or religious discourse was a form of intellectual dissipation. The address, however, had not been altogether a failure. "Certain did believe" among whom were "a woman named Damaris" and a man, "Dionysus the Areopagite" (member of the Council of Areopagus, once powerful, now a name) on whom was, in after centuries, fathered one of the most famous works of mystical theology, the treatise "Of the Divine Names."

Paul made his way to Corinth, a little to the south, where he found himself among friends.

Aquila and Priscilla were Jews, tentmakers by profession, who, in company with all their nation, had recently been expelled from Rome by Claudius Cæsar. The Jews, owing to their commercial ability, were usually favoured by the Government, but personally they were never popular, and were generally made the scapegoats of any public misfortune, especially as their wealth gave them an influence which was dreaded. Such an occasion had recently arisen and a decree had been issued banishing all Jews from the Imperial City. The Jews were too useful for these decrees not to become dead letters before long ; but for the moment Aquila with Priscilla his wife, had taken refuge in Corinth, where they pursued their trade, which was, fortunately, Paul's own ; for in accordance with Jewish custom which bade that all should have a trade, even

if they had not to live by it, Paul had been taught tentmaking, a local Cilician industry.

Corinth. Corinth was a very different place from Athens. From its position on the Isthmus it commanded the eastern and western seas, and was now, as it always had been, the trading centre of Greece, besides having its own manufactures, amongst which Corinthian bronze was famous. Though its name is given to one of the three types of Greek architecture, Corinth had little of the artistic or the intellectual tradition of Athens; it was a wealthy commercial town, notorious for its high prices and its corrupt morals.¹

The chief deity of Athens was Athena the Maiden goddess who sprang full armed from the head of Zeus, and who is often taken as a type of justice and wisdom. The goddess of Corinth was Aphrodite Pandemos, that is, of all the people, and here, as in Cyprus, she stood for unbridled desire.

Cities conspicuous for wealth and prosperity are always prone to that sort of worship. Corinth was no exception, and we cannot understand St Paul's exposition of the Jerusalem Decree to his Corinthian converts, unless we realise that participation in the social side of religious festivals there, was really attended by the gravest moral dangers. St Paul never chose his metaphors idly; it is not by chance that he bids his converts not to feast with the old leaven; or that he reminds them, in the same context, what the Christian sacrifice is. Let the pagans sacrifice to Aphrodite¹—"Christ our Pasch is sacrificed for us." (I Cor. vi.) Nor was it a theological flattery when he insisted "Your members are the temple of the Holy

¹ If Athens be compared with Edinburgh, Corinth will be represented by Glasgow.

¹ But that he is supposed to have written about Easter-time gives another reason for the allusion.

Ghost who is in you" (*idem*). Any conduct inconsistent with that tremendous fact was to him inconceivable—"For you are bought with a great price. Glorify and bear God *in your body*"; in every bodily habit or action. The Corinthians had needed the warning; as who, indeed, does not?

St Paul, as he says himself, had come to Corinth "in weakness and in fear and in much trembling." Unsuccess disheartened him further until the Lord comforted him in a vision. (Acts xviii.) He remained a year and a half in the city making converts chiefly, as we deduce from the Roman names, among those whom the erection of Corinth into a Roman colony had caused to gather there.

Gallio. At length (A.D. 51) Gallio, brother of Seneca the philosopher, and apparently a man of great sweetness of character, was appointed Governor, and arrived in Corinth to take over office. The Jews, hostile here as everywhere, thought they had their opportunity at last. They brought Paul before him and accused him of persuading men "to worship God contrary to law." This was the first time St Paul had been summoned before a Roman officer of the first rank, and we have already seen what was the accredited Roman policy toward religious controversies. Gallio might be amiable, he was not weak, and he would not be driven from his path by a mob of Jews. Paul's offence, even if proven, was, he understood, purely in the domain of religion, and he thereupon dismissed the case.

Soon after this incident St Paul left Corinth, where he had not only established a Church, but had composed the two Epistles to the Thessalonians, and set out for Asia. He sailed from Cenchræ, the eastern port of Corinth, through

"The dimpled isles,

Lily o'er lily which o'erlace the seas,

And laugh their pride when the light waves lisp Greece"—

to Ephesus on the coast of Asia Minor. There he made but a brief stay, promising a speedy return, and turned southward, past that Patmos which the Beloved Disciple would make more famous, by Rhodes, one day to be an outpost of Christendom against the Turks, past Cyprus, and so by Cæsarea into Palestine and thence to Antioch, about the year 53.

V

ACTS XVIII, 23-XXI, 17

THE THIRD MISSIONARY JOURNEY

SUMMARY

- C. xviii. Visits Galatia and Phrygia.
- C. xix. At Ephesus: riot in the temple of Artemis.
- C. xx. To Macedonia, Troas, Miletus.
- C. xxi. By Cæsarea to Jerusalem.

COMMENTARY

As usual St Paul began his journey by a survey of already established churches; this took him through Phrygia and Galatia, and so led him once more to the borders of the Roman Province of Asia. This time the Holy Spirit did not forbid, and Paul, taking, perhaps, the road which led from Ancyra to Ephesus, arrived at that city probably in 54. There he remained two and a half years. To reach Ephesus Paul had traversed that Lydia of which Cræsus had been king, and whose name seemed typical of luxury even in art. "Lap me in soft Lydian airs," writes Milton glorifying pleasure in music. Riches poured down those few valleys whereby alone the trade of the interior could reach the sea, fertilising cities whence colonies had gone forth which made South Italy and Sicily famous when Rome was but a brigand camp. Earlier still these cities had known that mysterious civilisation which preceded the Greeks in Greece. They had seen the dawn of philosophy, the greatest names of early Greek thought were

those of men from Miletus, Ephesus, or Colophon, and they now triumphantly survived its apparent decay. But their riches, their splendours and their schools rested on a foundation more ancient than any philosophy, and more tenacious of life. Ephesus, stately on its harbour, splendid with marble, drawing its wealth from all the known world, felt its life to centre not in its ships, its warehouses, or its schools, though these were famous, but in the vast temple of its goddess, Artemis of the Ephesians. Roads converged on Ephesus from Byzantium—from the Cilician Gates—from Ancyra and all were as conduits pouring treasure into the temple of Artemis.

“Diana of the Ephesians.” Ephesus had been a famous shrine before the Greeks came there; the home of that multi-named goddess whom Asia worshipped and Europe knew, she who typified “the motherhood of divine Nature.” The Greeks called her Artemis, the Romans Diana, each identifying her with that member of their own divine family who seemed most to resemble her as queen and huntress of living things. But she was rather Demeter, the Earth Mother, than either of these. Six centuries earlier Cræsus had adorned her temple, famous even then. Now it was a town within a town. Its precincts had the right of sanctuary, criminal and exile mingled in its courts, magicians wandered there—Ephesus was famous for magic—Roman officials brushed through, and crowds of strangers coming from the shrine hastened to buy the little silver models and statuettes the sale of which souvenirs of the temple was one source of Ephesian riches.

Within the temple was the image of the goddess, believed to have fallen from heaven, an idol which antedated the art of sculpture, for it was but a shapeless stone, touched with the chisel so as roughly to produce a monstrous likeness of humanity. Lamps blazed

before her, she was covered with rude symbols of the generative force of nature, and on her head was a lofty crown. "I have fought with beasts at Ephesus," said St Paul, not, surely, without some reference to all that was symbolised by that monstrous statue which was worshipped there.

We gain some conception of St Paul's power when we learn that in spite of all this, he nevertheless made Ephesus a centre from which "all Asia heard the word of the Lord"; his teaching being confirmed by miracles which silenced and abashed the practitioners of magic ("curious arts," Acts xix, 19).

The school of a certain Tyrannus was the place where he taught. At that time the school day began about dawn and finished correspondingly early, so that the lecture room would be free in the afternoon.

Besides preaching St Paul had two other tasks to perform. From Ephesus he wrote the Epistle to the Galatians, and the First to the Corinthians; and he had also to deal with the converts of Apollos.

Apollos was a Jew from Alexandria, a place famous, among other things, as a great centre of Jewish thought; where learned Jews strove to reconcile the pagan philosophies with the Old Testament. Apollos, trained there, was a brilliant controversialist; but, though a convert to Christianity, had little knowledge of the faith, though much zeal. Aquila and Priscilla, now at Ephesus, had instructed him further, and he had gone to Corinth, where his Alexandrian subtleties caused much excitement among those who, because they were Greeks, thought they must be cleverer than other people. The First Epistle to the Corinthians is partly taken up with this. He had left at Ephesus a little group of people whom he had converted but had not been able fully to instruct, and who had not been baptised. St Paul supplied these omissions, and administered confirmation; he soon made friends with

Apollos himself, startled and perplexed by the squabbles at Corinth.

Not for more than two years did the inevitable tumult arise in Ephesus ; and then it was a riot fostered by the jewellers, whose trade in temple souvenirs had been injured by Paul's preaching ; for he had " drawn away a great multitude not only of Ephesus, but almost of all Asia." (Acts xix, 26.) Confusion reigned for some hours, few knowing the cause of the turmoil ; till at length one of the town officials, terrified lest the city be penalised for this breach of Roman good order, persuaded the crowd to disperse. The prospects of rioters were very different in great towns like Ephesus, where Roman discipline was fully established from what they were in small cities like Lystra, or even Iconium. Soon after this St Paul, who had been purposing a second visit to Greece, and who was already thinking of Rome (Acts xix, 21), put the first part of his project into execution. Returning to Macedonia, he there wrote the Second Epistle to the Corinthians, and followed up his letter by a visit to that city, where he prepared the way for his projected journey to Italy by sending the Epistle to the Romans. But that visit was to be paid otherwise than as he then thought.

Return to Jerusalem. After leaving Corinth St Paul returned through Macedonia to Philippi, sailed across to Troas, and thence coasted down the western shores of Asia Minor, past Ephesus, where he did not wish to be detained, to Miletus, where he broke the journey. At Miletus the elders of Ephesus came to him, and Paul, with a prevision of what was soon to come to pass, bade them a solemn farewell, warning them to be steadfast in spite of the distresses which he foresaw were to come on them also.

The little scene is described by St Luke with all the tender humanity characteristic of that sweet-natured saint : " And there was much weeping among them all.

And falling on the neck of Paul they kissed him, being grieved most of all for the word which he had said, that they should see his face no more." (Acts xx, 37, 38.) Paul, tearing himself away—no one was ever more loving a friend—continued his journey till at length he reached Tyre. In that city, long fallen from its high estate as the market of the earth and the mother of Carthage, he remained a week. The same scenes marked his departure, the presage of impending misfortune was on all; men, women, and children, accompanied the saint to his ship. Each detail of that journey remained impressed on Luke's mind. At Cæsarea too where they visited Philip the Evangelist, came the same premonitions. Agabus, who, years ago, had prophesied the famine at Jerusalem, prophesied again, danger to Paul. At this the pent-up anxiety of the disciples broke its bonds, all, including Luke, besought him not to go to Jerusalem: "Then Paul answered and said: What do you mean, weeping and afflicting my heart? For I am ready not only to be bound, but to die also in Jerusalem, for the name of the Lord Jesus. And when we could not persuade him we ceased saying: The will of the Lord be done. And after three days, *being prepared*—(significant words)—we went up to Jerusalem."

VI

ACTS XXI, 16-XXVIII, 31.

JERUSALEM AND ROME

SUMMARY

- C. xxi. Paul at Jerusalem: Jerusalem Decree re-affirmed; but demonstration of Paul's respect for the Law devised to conciliate the Judaisers: Riot breaks out: Paul rescued by the Roman tribune.
- C. xxii. Paul's defence to the people: Arrested by the tribune: appeals to his citizenship: Lysias summons Sanhedrin.
- C. xxiii. Trial before Sanhedrin. Jewish conspiracy: is sent by Lysias to Felix, the Governor at Cæsarea.
- C. xxiv. Trial before Felix: not condemned but imprisoned. After two years Portius Festus succeeds Felix.
- C. xxv. Trial before Festus. Appeal to Cæsar.
- C. xxvi. Festus consults Agrippa.
- C. xxvii. Voyage to Rome and shipwreck. Imprisoned at Rome. End of Acts.

COMMENTARY

When Paul reached Jerusalem those in charge, while re-affirming the principle that Christian Jew and Christian Gentile were equal before God, nevertheless thought it well to arrange a means whereby Paul could demonstrate to those still over-sensitive about their Judaism, his personal respect for the Mosaic Law.

The taking of vows was one of the devotional practices of the Jews which, though no longer obligatory, were still observed by many Christians. Four Christians had taken a vow the fulfilment of which involved sacrifices and ceremonies at the Temple during the space of a week. The suggestion was that Paul should perform one of the acts of charity much practised by devout Jews, and pay the expenses of these men. Paul agreed, and went to the Temple with the men in question.

The Temple. The Temple was arranged in a series of terraces, commanded on one side by the Roman fortress Antonia. The Court of the Gentiles was free to all; beyond it none but a Jew might go. Paul, naturally, entered the inner part, and was seen there as had been designed. But he had also been seen in the town, walking with Trophimus the Ephesian. Asiatic Jews, doubtless familiar with his work among the Gentiles, and seeking for causes of offence, observed him in the Temple, and leapt to the conclusion that he had taken Trophimus in with him and had committed sacrilege. Tumult broke out, Paul was dragged from the Temple and set upon by the crowd. The riot was seen from Antonia, which, as we have said, overlooked the Temple, and Lysias, the Roman officer in command there, gathering some men, hurried down and rescued Paul.

Arrest of Paul. The address of Paul to the crowd (Acts xxii, 1-21) needs no comment; it brought renewed turmoil, and Lysias, bringing Paul into the fortress, gave orders to find out what had caused the commotion by the summary process of flogging the apparent culprit till he confessed. But this might not be done to Roman citizens, and finding that Paul was a Roman, Lysias countermanded his instructions. Next day he called the Sanhedrin together, brought in Paul, and himself took charge of the

enquiry, determined to discover what Paul had done.

Trial before the Sanhedrin. The Assembly was hostile, and Paul, realising he should get no impartial hearing, and also that there were both Pharisees and Sadducees present, the first affirming, the second denying, the Resurrection, brought forward that doctrine, and thus caused a hot controversy between the two groups. Lysias, by this time almost desperate one would imagine, withdrew Paul and kept him in the security of the castle.

The matter being further complicated by a plot among the Jews (Acts xxiii, 12-22), Lysias decided to send Paul away, and dispatched him under escort to Cæsarea, where Felix, the Roman Governor (Procurator of Judea), was resident. In the accompanying letter he explained that the trouble, whatever its exact character, had arisen from religious disputes; that Paul was not culpable under Roman Law, and that he had referred the accusers to Felix himself.

Trial before Felix. The High Priest hastened to Cæsarea with an advocate, and the case was tried. The Jews, as usual, tried to supplement the religious accusation, about which Romans cared so little, by a civil charge. (Acts xxiv, 5.) Paul denied it, pointing out that the Asiatic Jews, essential witnesses, were not present. Gallio, probably, would have dismissed the case; Felix was a man of immoral life and venal character; he hoped for bribes, and holding over judgment pending the arrival of Lysias, kept Paul in confinement for two years.

Before Festus. At the end of this time Felix, who was grossly incompetent, was succeeded by Portius Festus, who at once re-opened the case. The Jews renewed their accusations but called no evidence, and Paul at last brought matters to a crisis: "I appeal to Cæsar." (xxv, 11.) The right of appeal to Cæsar could not be denied to a citizen; Paul at length was

to go to Rome. But not till after one more incident.

Agrippa II, son of the Herod Agrippa of the early chapters of Acts, though at the time of his father's death he had been considered too young to inherit, was by this date ruler, under Rome, of a goodly district, and had moreover the right of appointing the high priest. At this moment he, and his sister Berenice, came to pay their respects to the new governor. Festus, completely puzzled, asked his help on the report which had to be sent with Paul to Rome. Agrippa, already curious about Paul, readily agreed. (Luke's vivid account of the interview should be read in full, Acts xxv, 23-xxvi, 32.) Agrippa pronounced Paul guiltless, but there was no alternative to an appeal to Cæsar. Paul therefore was to go to Rome in charge of the centurion Julius. Luke, "the most dear physician," and Aristarchus, were with him.

Voyage to Rome. They sailed north in a ship bound for Adramyttium, which was near Troas and, being forced to take the inner route by Cyprus, passed by the shores of Paul's Cilician home. At Myra (Lystra in the Douay version) Julius found one of the ships engaged in the wheat trade between Alexandria and Rome, intending to run direct for Italy. It was already autumn, the sailing season was nearly over, the voyage was risky, but Julius was resolved and they joined this ship.

Beaten by contrary winds they at length reached harbour on the south-west shore of Crete (Fair Haven). A southern breeze decided them to try and make Phenice, further along the coast; but no sooner had they issued forth than a gale blew up from the north-east (Euroaquila). With their one big sail they could not stand against the wind, but drove on before it until they feared grounding on the quicksands off the coast of Africa. The "undergirding" mentioned means that they bound ropes lengthways round the hull of the

ship to strengthen it. They had furled the sail also. So they drove for many days, Paul encouraging the disheartened men, until they passed into the fierce Adriatic sea ("whitelipped Hadria") and so east across it. And at length, with the loss of their ship, they managed to land at Malta (Melita). There they were treated with a hospitality which Paul, most characteristically, repaid with miracles.

Another Alexandrian corn ship, reaching Malta earlier, had wintered there. In this vessel, dedicated to the great Twin Brethren, Castor and Pollux, always popular deities, they were able after three months to proceed on their journey.

It is not far from Malta to Sicily; in three days they had reached Syracuse, the beautiful city built and adorned by Greeks, once the ally, now the servant, of Rome. Thence, passing down the Straits of Messina by Rhegium, they made direct for Puteoli (modern Pozzuoli), some distance up the Italian coast. There they landed.

From Puteoli the ancient Roman road, the Via Campana, went to Capua, once believed the most beautiful city in Italy with its seven great gates and its seven great streets, its vaulted amphitheatre, which Paul may have glanced at in passing, its famous temples, and its stormy history. From Capua the Via Appia led to Rome.

Each day's march led the little party through scenes where Rome herself had fought for very life against foe after foe; the various Italian tribes, and the great Carthaginian invader.¹ But Paul will have had little thought for these ancient warfares. Christians had met him at Puteoli, and from Rome itself they came out forty miles to Appii Forum to meet him, and again at Three Taverns a little further on. "And so we went to Rome," then, as now, the centre of the world.

¹ Hannibal.

First Imprisonment at Rome. No accusers being at hand, and there being no special charge against him, Paul was not kept in prison, but was allowed to live in his own house though chained day and night to a soldier of the Prætorian Guard. Even so he could not be idle. He sent for the Jews, they had heard nothing; they were not hostile; but neither were they friendly. He preached to them, some believed, some denied, all argued. Paul let them go with a final message for, having quoted the famous passage in Isaiah on the people who shut themselves up from the promptings of grace, he added: "Be it known therefore to you that the salvation of God is sent to the Gentiles: and they *will* hear it." And they did hear it; for two years Paul remained there, receiving "all that came to him . . . and teaching the things which concern the Lord Jesus Christ with all confidence." (Acts xxviii.)

VII

LAST YEARS OF ST PAUL

HERE the Acts cease ; it was probably at this time that St Luke wrote them ; but from the Epistles, etc., we are able to sketch in rough outline the closing years of the saint.

He gathered about him in Rome a little company of helpers, Tychicus, Epaphras, and others, and they carried the letters whereby he strove to keep in touch with his converts. During these two years, 61 and 62, he wrote the Epistles to the Colossians, the Ephesians, the Philippians, and to Philemon.

At the end of the two years Paul was released, probably because there being no definite charge, and no witnesses, the case was dropped.

Tradition suggests that he then went to Spain as he had undoubtedly once intended (Romans xv, 24), but as to this there is no certainty. That he was again in Ephesus and in Macedonia is certain (I Tim. i). At Ephesus he left the well-beloved Timothy as bishop, and another disciple, Titus, he sent to Crete to organise the Church there. Paul himself was in Macedonia at the time and he tells Titus to come and meet him at Nicopolis as soon as Artemas or Tychicus should arrive in Crete to replace him. Nicopolis was a town on the coast of Epirus, north of Achaia (Greece proper) and west of Macedonia.

At length, we know not where, perhaps at Troas in Asia, Paul was re-arrested. It is from " II Timothy " that we learn of his state. " All they who are in Asia

are turned away from me." Onesiphorus (Help-bringer) at least was faithful—"The Lord give mercy to the house of Onesiphorus he . . . hath not been ashamed of my chain." Most of his friends St Paul had sent away to carry on the work, some were ill and "Demas hath left me, loving this world." "Make haste and come to me quickly," he asks Timothy. "Only Luke is with me. . . ." "At my first answer no man stood with me: but all forsook me: May it not be laid to their charge." (II Tim. iv.)

Nero was now Cæsar, and in 64 Rome had been burned. Terrified at the popular rumour which ascribed the conflagration to him, sensationalist as he was known to be, half mad as he might be already guessed, he had made the Christians scapegoats of all. Persecutions had raged, and torture, till the pagans themselves, habituated as they were to the bloody spectacles of the amphitheatre, sickened at the sight. There was no leniency now for Paul when again he was brought to Rome, no "hired house," but the common prison. Yet he was not altogether alone. Luke was with him, Onesiphorus had reached him, Pudens, Linus, and a woman, Claudia, last of that gracious company which included Lois, Eunice, Lydia, Priscilla, and Damaris, came to him. And it was most probably now that, under his direction, though not by his hand, the Epistle to the Hebrews was written.

And so his life drew to a close: "I am even now ready to be sacrificed; and the time of my dissolution is at hand. I have fought a good fight: I have finished my course: I have kept the faith." Five years earlier he had written to the Philippians "For me to live is Christ: and to die is gain. . . . I am straitened between two: having a desire to be dissolved and to be with Christ a thing by far the better." And now, in A.D. 67, he had his desire and, being led out of the city to Aquæ Salvæ, was there, by a last Roman

privilege, slain by the sword. On the same day, tradition testifies, and also in Rome, Peter was crucified; and the Church has ever commemorated them together. "As gold in the furnace He hath proved them, and as a victim of a holocaust He hath received them . . . and their reward is with the Lord, and the care of them with the Most High." (Wisdom.)

PART II
THE PAULINE EPISTLES

INTRODUCTION

THE EPISTLES OF ST PAUL ; THEIR CHARACTER AND DIFFICULTY

IN the New Testament between the Acts of the Apostles and the Apocalypse of St John, there is a collection of letters. Some of these were written by St Peter and other Apostles ; but the greater number were composed by St Paul. These letters are documents of incomparable value, since they are the main source from which we derive our knowledge of St Paul's doctrinal teaching, and are the earliest statements of Christian theology which we possess. They have, however, their own special difficulties, the nature of which must now be explained.

The Epistles of St Paul are genuine letters, written to particular groups of people who had been converted to Christianity by the Apostle or his disciples. They were usually occasioned by some special difficulty which had arisen in the particular group addressed, and contain such doctrinal and other instruction as St Paul supposed would meet those special difficulties. The one exception to this is the letter written to Rome to prepare the Roman Christians, who had not been converted by St Paul, for his intended visit. This letter consequently, is much more definitely a doctrinal treatise than any of the others.

Content of the Epistles

In the Epistles generally three elements are to be traced intermingling with each other throughout the

whole letter. The first of these is occasional in character, that is, it consists of personal news, individual messages, and reference to particular cases, as when, in Philippians, Paul describes his imprisonment, refers to the gifts received from Philippi, and warns them against the Judaisers. These passages are often of the highest biographical value and interest. In the second place there is a doctrinal exposition, suggested either by questions previously asked by the Apostle's correspondents, or by information received about them. Thirdly, there are passages dealing with the Christian life, or with moral problems.

Form of the Epistles

As has been said, these three elements are not kept apart in the letters but are mingled together, now one, now another, just as they suggested themselves to the Apostle. It cannot be too much emphasised that these are letters not essays, or treatises, and that they consequently have the fluidity of form characteristic of letters. Whoever would ascertain St Paul's teaching on any one point must begin by searching the whole of the Epistles in order to collect all the passages which deal with it. Less than almost any teacher can St Paul be understood in single texts, that is, by taking one text out of one Epistle and interpreting it without reference to the whole of his teaching. For that teaching is many-sided and the Apostle dwells now on this, now on that, as occasion demands, never forgetting, however, that greater whole which his immediate purpose does not require him to advance.

Difficulties in the Epistles

The Epistles of St Paul have, then, certain difficulties peculiar to themselves. Some of these arise out of the epistolary form; these we shall first enumerate.

The letters, being letters, contain many digressions, many interpolations on another theme which interrupt the sequence; the order is not logical but psychological.

We have not the other side of the correspondence, and the key to a full comprehension of many passages is therefore missing.

St Paul's correspondents had already received a full elementary instruction in Christian doctrine, he takes this for granted (I Cor. x; Eph. v, 25, etc.) uses it to illustrate, and does not explain it. In the reference already given to Ephesians, for example, St Paul assumes the whole doctrine of Christian marriage to be known, and without explaining it further, uses it to illustrate a greater mystery. This mental background we have to supply for ourselves.

Much of his teaching is given à propos of some problem which has no longer any very special meaning for us. Much space, for example, is taken up with discussions on the relation which ought to exist between Christianity and the Mosaic Law and, though this gives occasion for some of the most splendid and characteristic outbursts of Pauline exhortation, yet it would be foolish to expect that the problem itself should have more than a historical interest for us. Other difficulties arise from the character of St Paul's own mind, and from the education which he had received.

St Paul was a Jew and a Pharisee, and the habits of thought and of explanation which he had imbibed "at the feet of Gamaliel" were never eradicated by any of the Greek culture which he may possibly have received at Tarsus or elsewhere. Even at the moment when he was trying to dissuade the Galatians from involving themselves with the Judaisers, he cannot resist methods of arguments which, however traditional in the schools of Jerusalem, could scarcely have been

intelligible to Galatian converts. (Gal. iv, 23-31.) And this is a use of symbol, and allegorical application, which the modern mind finds obscure and unsympathetic but which St Paul had learned and undoubtedly found congenial.

The discussion of critical difficulties being foreign to the purpose of this little manual,¹ it only remains to say something of a difficulty which arises out of St Paul's own intellectual character. The intellectual power of the Apostle is amazing; in his reach and depth of thought he goes far beyond the capacity of anything but genius to follow save very far behind. But, besides this, his brain works in a manner which is not always easy. A chance phrase or allusion is quite enough to send his mind soaring far beyond the subject he is dealing with, not to descend perhaps for chapters, to his original argument. Again, the extraordinary quickness of his spiritual apprehension leads him at times to allusions which start a whole new train of thought and doctrine, but which he does not develop. An example of this may be found in the passage (I Cor. x, 4) where he is describing the delivery of the Jews from Egypt "And they drank of the spiritual rock that followed them: and the rock was Christ." On the surface the allusion is to the miraculous production of water for the Israelites in the desert; really Paul has, in passing as it were, touched open a door upon a new and tremendous subject, the pre-Incarnation work of the Second Person of the Blessed Trinity; yet this is only a parenthesis, never returned to.

Are we to argue from the existence of these causes of obscurity, that the Epistles of St Paul are not for the ordinary reader; that they ought only to be

¹ We must not forget, however, that St Paul had to make the language in which he wrote express, somehow, ideas that were quite new to it, and for which therefore there were as yet no really satisfactory words.

studied by professed theologians? If so, these pages could never have been written. St Paul's letters are a treasury from which everyone can take something, and no one can take everything; an ocean on whose surface all can sail though into its depths but few can dive, and they for unimaginable treasures. And even those who, like the present writer, stand but on the verge waiting for what the waves may cast upon the beach, will find, even in that flotsam and jetsam, inexhaustible riches. And those who have the duty of teaching Christian doctrine will find that the vital influence of the Epistles of St Paul will not only greatly strengthen and enrich their teaching, but will bestow on them personally the incomparable benefit of contact with one of the greatest and most lovable characters in the calendar of the saints.

Method to be adopted

In what follows an exposition of each Epistle as a whole will not even be attempted since the object before us is not to gain that complete knowledge which would require at least the equipment of a profound exegete, but simply to trace, as far as possible, the main outlines of St Paul's teaching on some fundamental points of doctrine. To do this we shall divide the subject, so far as it is to be attempted, into five sections, trying to summarise in each whatever is to be found in the whole of the Epistles on that point. But it must be emphasized that this is not intended to substitute for the reading of the actual text but simply to facilitate that reading.

NOTE

Where there is a distinct difference, or elucidation of meaning the quotations in Part 2 are, wholly or partly, from the Westminster version as far as this was available to the writer. The references to chapter and verse hold good either for the Westminster or the Douay version.

I

ST PAUL'S DOCTRINE OF CHRIST

INTRODUCTORY.—CHRIST THE CENTRE OF PAUL'S TEACHING

"We preach Christ crucified, to the Jews a stumbling block, and to the Gentiles folly; but to those who are called, whether Jew or Greek, Christ the power of God, and the wisdom of God." (I Cor. i, 24.)

IF there is one fact which stands out luminously clear through the whole of the Pauline Epistles it is that any exposition of them must be wrong which does not subordinate everything to the Person of Christ. Christ, above all Christ crucified, is the centre of Paul's teaching as of his life. The whole scheme of salvation is based on Him, works through Him, and leads to Him: "Other foundation no man can lay than that which is laid already: which is Christ Jesus" (I Cor. iii, 2) and all Paul's conceptions are expressed in terms of personal relationship to the Redeemer. Sinfulness is to be turned from Christ, or opposed to Christ; holiness is dwelling "in Christ"; eternal beatitude is being "ever with the Lord." Redemption is Christ's work, grace Christ's gift, faith is faith in Christ, the Church is His Body, and "He hath become to us wisdom God-imparted, yea, and justice and sanctification and redemption." (I Cor. i, 30.)

But, if Paul's theology is thus Christocentric, that is because his religion was not otherwise. The whole key to his life and teaching is to be found in his intense

devotion to the Person of our Lord. To this every human wish and feeling is subordinate. Let no one think to hurt Paul by preaching Christ as it were in opposition to him: "What then? So that by all means, whether by occasion or by truth, Christ be preached: in this also I rejoice, yea, and will rejoice." (Phil. i, 18.) "To live is Christ," and to die is "to be dissolved and to be with Christ, a thing by far the better." (Phil. i, 21, 23.) From his intense consciousness of personal relationship to Christ comes all his moral teaching. Are the Corinthians morally lax? From St Paul comes the terrible query: "Shall I take the limbs of Christ and make them the limbs of an harlot?" Do they question about pagan sacrifices? From St Paul comes the answer: "You cannot be partakers of the table of the Lord and of the table of devils." Are they flattered by their intellectualisms? St Paul will "know nothing among them but Jesus Christ and Him crucified." If in writing to the Galatians he turns upon those who would pervert them with such fierceness that he does not scruple to say: "I would they were even cut off that trouble you"; it is because the Judaisers tried to make salvation depend on something other than the Blood of the Crucified; and, if he praises the Thessalonians, it is because "Christ is glorified in them."

Since all this is so, let us inquire of Paul something further concerning this Person Who was the cause of his action, the life of his thought, and the goal of his desire.

I. CHRIST—GOD

Creator. "He is the image of the unseen God, first born before every creature. For in him were created all things in heaven and on earth, things seen and things unseen, whether thrones or dominations or principalities or powers—all creation is through him

and unto him. And himself is prior to all, and in him all things hold together." (Col. i, 15-17.) Again, He is "Son whom God hath set up as heir of all things; by whom also he created the ages. He, being the flashing forth of his glory, and the very expression of his being, sustaineth all things by God's word of power." (Heb. i, 2-3.)

Christ, then, is God, the Son of God and Second Person of the Blessed Trinity. His eternal generation is before every creature, for He created all, even the angels, the thrones, dominations, principalities and powers. In Him God is apparent, for He is "the flashing forth of his glory and the expression of his being." To Him can be applied the words of the Psalmist—"Thy throne, O God, is for ever." He is eternal; there was no time when He was not, nor can there ever be. Of Him it is said: "Thou didst in the beginning make firm the earth, O Lord, and the works of thy hands are the heavens: They shall pass away, but thou abidest for ever: and they shall all grow old like a garment. And like a mantle thou wilt roll them up, and they shall be replaced: But thou art ever the same, and thy years shall never run out." (cf. Heb. i.)

Governor. As it was Christ by Whom the ages were created, so also it was He Whose providence sustained and governed them—in Him all things hold together. When the Israelites were brought forth out of Egypt it was Christ Who led them, Christ Who sustained them: "And they drank of the spiritual rock that followed them; and the rock was Christ." When they "tempted" God in the wilderness it was Christ they tempted (cf. I Cor. x). "Jesus Christ, the same yesterday, to-day, and for ever." (Heb. xiii, 8.)

Judge. But, if the Divine pre-existent Christ created and governs the world "by God's word of power," it is also He Who will judge it. Even to the

Athenians Paul had said that God would "judge the world in equity, by the man whom he hath appointed: giving faith to all by raising him up from the dead." (Acts xvii, 31.) And when he writes to the Thessalonians the two letters in which he speaks especially of the Day of Judgment, it is clear, as from all his writings, that it is Christ who will be Judge. "The Lord himself at a signal—the voice of an archangel and the trumpet of God—shall come down from heaven" (I Thess. iv, 16) and that coming will be "The manifestation of the Lord Jesus from heaven with angels of his power in flaming fire, to deal chastisement to them that know not God, and that do not obey the Gospel of our Lord Jesus." (II Thess. i, 7, 8.)

SUMMARY

Christ then, is God, Son of God, Creator, Governor, Judge of the world. "Very God of very God: Begotten of His Father before all worlds: By whom all things were made" according to the words of the Master Himself "Before Abraham was I Am." (John vii, 58.) But this last conception of Christ as Judge brings us to the next point, only by violence to be severed from the first, of the Pauline doctrine of Christ. True, Christ is God. But He Who will judge the world will not be only God; for there has intervened the Incarnation, and the Son of God is also the Son of David.

2. CHRIST—MAN

"He, though he was by nature God, yet did not set great store on his equality with God; rather he emptied himself by taking the nature of a slave and becoming like unto men. And after he had appeared in outward form as man, he humbled himself by obedience unto death, yea, unto death upon a cross." (Phil. ii, 6-8.)

We shall not find in St Paul's writings any set narrative of the life of our Lord upon earth. This formed part of the elementary instruction of converts and is here taken as known. But the Incarnation, Jewish birth, Passion and Resurrection of the Saviour are matters of constant reference, and the institution of the Blessed Sacrament is described. St Paul has also preserved for us one saying which the Gospels do not record, namely, that it is more blessed to give than to receive. These facts, however, are never introduced for the sake of narration but for that of some further argument or doctrine dependent upon them. St Paul therefore evidently knew much that he had no occasion to speak of. Valuable evidence in regard to the Resurrection is however given in I Cor, xv.

The Incarnation. In spite of all that the Apostle says about the work of Christ before His human birth, it is Christ Incarnate with Whom he is really pre-occupied ; so that in the beginning of the Epistle to the Romans he calls himself the " Apostle of the gospel of God which he had promised . . . concerning his Son who was made to him of the seed of David, according to the flesh, who was predestinated the Son of God in power." (Rom. i, 1-3.) And now, what is St Paul's teaching on this subject ?

In the first place he tells us that Christ, being by nature God, emptied Himself, taking the nature of a slave (that is of man). What does this mean ? Clearly not that He, in becoming Man, ceased to be God—" Thy throne, O God, is for ever "—God, eternal and immutable, can never be less than Himself, and in Christ " dwells all the fulness of the Godhead corporeally." (Col. ii, 9, corporeally = incarnate.) He emptied Himself then, of those honours and that worship, which were due to His Divinity, and, while not ceasing to be God, became man, true man because able to suffer, being " obedient unto death, even the

death of the cross." In what way does St Paul conceive of the Humanity of Christ? Or, if the question may with reverence be put in this way, what sort of man does he believe that Christ was?

Human Attributes of Christ. St Paul is always setting before his converts the example of the generosity of Christ's self abandonment. When urging the Corinthians to the practice of generous giving, even at personal cost, he adds: "You know the grace of our Lord Jesus Christ that, being rich, he became poor for our sakes." (II Cor. viii, 9.) In the same way, when he presses upon the Philippians the necessity of humility and unselfishness, he persuades them in the passage given above. If Christ "emptied Himself" what ought not they to do?

Again, Christ is "mild and modest." "Now I, Paul, myself beseech you, by the mildness and modesty of Christ" (II Cor. x, 1) and He was utterly obedient to God (Rom. v, 19), He was holy (Rom. i, 4) and numberless as are the references to His charity, among which one shall suffice us here: "When as yet we were sinners according to the time Christ died for us." (Rom. v, 8-9.) "In this," says St John, "we have known the charity of God, because he hath laid down his life for us." (I John iii, 16.) One other point. As the perfection of Christ's generosity and self-sacrifice were not marred by any touch of external compulsion—"He humbled . . . delivered . . . gave . . . Himself"—so this very fact implies that other quality of unshakable strength, of unflinching resolution. Most people can resign themselves with some sort of grace to that which is inevitable, as most people can be heroic—in hot blood. But remove these aids of our clay, and then see what strength is implied in the voluntariness of the suffering life and crucified death of Jesus.

Summary. This then, in brief, is the Pauline testimony to the "man Christ Jesus"; that He was

humble, generous, mild, modest, of supreme charity, untouched holiness, unshaken strength, sinless—yet man—man made perfect in suffering, able “to realize in himself our weaknesses . . . tried in every way like ourselves, short of sin.” (Heb. iv, 15.) But, if we were to ask of St Paul one further question: “What did this Man do?” we should undoubtedly receive the answer: “He was crucified, and on the third day rose from the dead.” It is, however, more convenient to take the Passion and Resurrection of the Saviour under the next heading since in so doing we shall approximate more closely to St Paul’s own treatment of the subject.

3. CHRIST—REDEEMER

“If, when we were enemies, we were reconciled to God by the death of his Son: much more, being reconciled, shall we be saved by his life.” (Rom. v, 10.) A brief summary of the answers to the questions implied in this text will indicate the method of treatment here to be adopted. Why were we enemies of God? Through sin. How were we reconciled by the death of his Son? Because Jesus Christ is God and Man, and in virtue at once of His deity, and His solidarity with the human race, was able by the oblation of the cross to effect that reconciliation. How are we saved by His life? Because since the Passion and Resurrection it has become, if we will, our life. And these are the three divisions of our subject, of which we must now take the first, the dominion of sin.

SIN

Universality. Before the Incarnation of Christ the domination of sin was universal. The whole race of man was in its nature sinful, we “were by nature children of wrath.” (Col. ii, 3.) “All have sinned and do need the glory of God,” says St Paul to the Romans,

and again : " We have charged both Jews and Greeks that they are all under sin." (Rom. iii, 29, 30.) This sin also deserves punishment : " Tribulation and anguish upon every soul of man that worketh evil, of the Jews first, and also of the Greek." (Rom. ii, 9.) It is not then negative only, a mere privation, but a corruption involving responsibility. How? Comparison of the various terms which St Paul, writing in Greek, uses for sin, elicits the fact that sin, as such, is : " an act against the Divine Law as this is manifested either through Nature, or Conscience, or through positive Revelation " ¹; and this is sinful because the Divine Law is the will of the Divine Lawgiver ; the sinner is the enemy of God. Not beyond a certain point can ignorance be pleaded, that ignorance may itself be a guilty one. Even the Pagans had had light sufficient : " For the invisible things of him from the creation of the world are clearly seen, being understood by the things that are made. His eternal power also and divinity : so that they are inexcusable." (Rom. i, 20.) Physical creation itself gave evidence enough ; but there were those who ignored it " in the vanity of their minds : having the understanding darkened : being alienated from the life of God through the ignorance that is in them, because of the blindness of their hearts." (Eph. iv, 17, 18.) Much more is the sinfulness of the Jew to whom the law was given. Jew and Gentile then, were alike " under sin."

Original Sin. How did this universal alienation from God come about? Seldom explicitly stated, the doctrine of original sin is everywhere implied in St Paul and in Romans v, 12, we have the following statement : " By one man (Adam) sin entered into this world, and by sin death, and so death passed upon all men, in whom all have sinned." This passage is confirmed by others ; but it is noticeable that St Paul never remarks

¹ Bandas, " Master Idea of St Paul's Epistles," p. 4.

on the disaster caused by the First Adam save by way of contrast with the redemption brought about by the Second (Christ), and never discusses it in detail. In virtue, then, of Adam's solidarity with the whole human race, his fault brought all under the dominion of sin. In what way does St Paul conceive this?

"*The Law of Sin*" (*Concupiscence*). "I see another law in my members, fighting against the law of my mind, and captivating me to the law of sin that is in my members." (Rom. vii, 18.) The sin of Adam was the historical cause of the entrance into the human race of a principle of sin, a fundamental disorder of man's nature, so that he is, in Pauline phrase, "carnal," that is, enslaved to his fleshly nature and the desires thereof. Against this slavery the unaided spirit of man strives in vain.

Actual Sins. "The evil that I would not, that I do." From this disharmony of man's nature all actual or personal sins are derived, whether sensuous or intellectual, drunkenness or heresy (cf. Gal. v, 19-23), for these are all the acts of a will which desires itself instead of God. It is this choice of the pervert will which constitutes sinfulness, not the mere existence of the sin-principle, for this persists even in the sanctified. Man, therefore, cannot claim irresponsibility on the ground of the disorder in his nature which is a result of original sin. Nevertheless, though St Paul regards the body as being the seat of this sin-principle, or concupiscence, which he calls "the law of sin," he does not regard the flesh itself as evil. When man is unredeemed the flesh is indeed the seat of sin: we are "carnal, sold under sin" (Rom. vii, 14); our nature is wrenched aside from its true end to another, the "works of the flesh." But, when redeemed, the body is an "instrument of justice unto God" (Rom. vi, 13) and the "temple of the Holy Ghost." (I Cor. vi, 19.) One thing more must be added before we shall fully

understand the condition of unredeemed humanity ; the teaching of St Paul on Satan.

Satan. "The serpent seduced Eve by his subtlety" (II Cor. xi, 3) and Eve seduced Adam. Thus Satan, the spiritual adversary of God, was obeyed instead of God, and Man, by his own act, made himself subject to Satan. For Paul the Evil One is "the god of this world," "who blinds the mind of unbelievers," prompts to all other sins, causes "unprofitable and hurtful desires," and is, in general, the agent of destruction. Particularly is he the spirit of error and infidelity, and late in life, St Paul will stigmatise heresy as "the doctrine of devils." (cf. also Ephes. x, 6, etc.)

Summary. We have, then, the following points. The sin of Adam, who represented the whole human race, put that race into opposition to God ; it was a direct act of obedience to Satan. As one result the human will was perverted, being moved by the flesh, now the vehicle of sin. The world, then, is not only enslaved to sin but to Satan ; corrupt conduct issuing in dulled and perverted intelligence, and this in turn in further corruption. (cf. Rom. i.) "And of all this the wages is death." Contrast with this miserable picture the infinite purity of Divine Holiness and of Divine Justice, and thus strive to measure the need of a redemption.

THE SECOND ADAM

We have gained some general notion of Pauline teaching on Christ as God, and Christ as Man, and, preliminary to our study of his teaching on Christ as Redeemer, we have briefly examined his conception of the unredeemed world. We find that world to be hostile to God, and delivered over to the dominion of sin, of death, and of Satan. Divine Justice, the right of the world's Creator over His creation ; Divine Holiness outraged by sin, required an atonement : Divine mercy purposed a redemption ; Divine love

procured a Redeemer. "The first man Adam was made into a living soul : the last Adam into a quickening spirit." (I Cor. xv, 45.)

Person of the Redeemer. Had the Incarnation of Christ been merely in appearance, as some heretics have taught, had He merely appeared to be man, not being one really, the Atonement which He wrought could have been no more than a sort of legal fiction. Again, had He been, as the Arians taught, and as certain modernists teach, not truly God, God absolute, then the Redemption too would have been also a fiction.

The work of salvation, then, to use one term for what was atonement in relation to God, redemption in relation to Man, required someone who would, without confusion, possess the nature of God, and the nature of man, not merely being a man, but one comprehending the human race in himself as had Adam. But as this work of double aspect is wrought by one and the same act, it follows of necessity that this being with two natures must be one Person. Such is Christ, and so Paul conceived Him, since he ascribes to the same Person attributes which belong exclusively to either nature : e.g. Col. i, 17, where Christ is described as the creator and sustainer of the universe, and also as the firstborn from the dead.¹

Christ and Adam. The contrast drawn in the passage from Corinthians quoted above is one frequent in St Paul, and it expresses an essential part of his doctrine of the Redemption. As it was in virtue of Adam's solidarity with the human race that that race fell in him, so it was in virtue of Christ's solidarity with it that it was redeemed in Him. It was to express this that St Paul invented for our Lord this title of "The Second Adam," and calls Him "a quickening (life-giving) spirit" as not only possessing life in Himself,

¹ Cf. also Rom. i, 3-4 ; II Cor. viii, 9, etc.

but as able to communicate it to others. "For as by the disobedience of one man (Adam) many were made sinners: so also by the obedience of one (Christ) many shall be made just." (Rom. v, 19.) And this brings us to the second point. Not only was Christ Man, representing in Himself the whole of humanity; but He was Man obedient unto death, even the death of the Cross. It was from Christ's position as supreme chief of humanity which holds to Him the same relationship as members of a body do to its head, that the sacrifice of the Cross derived its atoning value: "Therefore, as by the offence of one, unto all men to condemnation: so also by the justice of one, unto all men to justification of life." (Rom. v, 18.)

THE SACRIFICE OF THE CROSS

"Christ also hath loved us and hath delivered himself for us, an oblation and a sacrifice to God." (Eph. v, 2.) The two main elements contained in St Paul's conception of Christ's redemptive Death upon the Cross are both suggested in this passage from the Epistle to the Ephesians. In the first place Christ loved us, and delivered Himself for us ("for" means on behalf of, not, instead of.) But how did He "deliver himself"? As a sacrifice and as an oblation. The sacrifice was not merely physical, consisting of bodily suffering and death, it was interior, an oblation, that is, a free offering. As sacrifice Christ was victim, as oblation He was priest. And if, on the one hand, the sacrificial act was performed on our behalf, the sacrifice of the Head for His members; on the other hand, it was the perfect oblation of love and obedience from the Son to the Father. As such it was the one sufficing reparation whereby Divine justice and love were equally manifested, and we were reconciled: "Blotting out the handwriting of the decree that was

against us . . . he hath taken the same out of the way, fastening it to the cross." (Col. ii, 14.)

Christ as Victim. "It hath well pleased the Father through him to reconcile all things unto himself making peace through the blood of his cross." (Col. i, 19, 20.)

In the Epistle to the Hebrews the sacrifice of Christ is compared to that which indeed was typical of it, namely, the ceremonial atonement yearly made by the Jewish High Priest for the sins of the people—"not without blood." That sacrifice was the acknowledgment of the penal quality of sin. Justice requires that sin be punished, and God, could He be unjust, would cease to be God. If then we were, as St Paul teaches, reconciled through the blood of Christ, it was because the immolation of Christ was a true and genuine satisfaction for sin, vicarious indeed, but not a mere mechanical substitution. Christ as Victim blotted out "the handwriting of the decree that was against us" by offering in His own Person as Second Adam a reparation which Divine Justice could accept, and by the same act vindicating the hostility of God toward sin.

Henceforth there is no other Victim. "He, having offered one sacrifice for sin, hath taken his seat for ever at the right hand of God. . . . For by a single offering he hath for ever perfected those who are made holy." (Heb. x, 13, 14 and Heb. ix, 28.)

Christ as Priest. "Himself made perfect, he became for all who obey him the author of eternal salvation, designated by God as High Priest after the manner of Melchisedec." (Heb. v, 9, 10.)

The Priesthood of Christ was "after the manner of Melchisedec" first, because it was eternal; secondly, because it was personal, inherent in Himself, not dependent, as was the Jewish priesthood, on genealogy. The office of a priest is sacrifice, and in this case the sacrifice was Christ. But, as St Paul often insists,

Christ offered Himself, and consequently was both Victim and Priest, "a priest for ever. . . . Who ever liveth to make intercession for us." (Heb. vii, 17, 25.)

Were Christ to be regarded solely as Victim we might be in danger of forgetting the love of God in His justice, of imagining that there was some kind of opposition between the two. St Paul is careful to avoid the possibility of an error so grave: "God, for his exceeding charity wherewith he loved us even when we were dead in sins, hath quickened us together in Christ." (Eph. ii, 4-5.) Similarly St Thomas says: "Now the work of divine justice always presupposes the work of mercy, and is founded thereupon." (Summa: Pt. I. Q 21.) The Priesthood of Christ expresses this and saves us from exaggerating the penal element in the Atonement. For thus Christ's sacrifice is seen to be a perfect oblation of love and obedience made throughout His human life, and culminating in the death of the Cross.

Thus Christ, by the "one perfect oblation of himself once offered," restored a world which had been alienated from God, and broke the power of sin. But it was by sin that Satan became "the god of this world". The same act, therefore, as annuls sin, also dethrones the devil, though he still remains the adversary and tempter. (Eph. vi, 12.) Thus of the threefold slavery of man two bonds have been broken. What, then, of the third? Sin and Satan being overcome what of Death?

THE RISEN CHRIST

"If Christ be not risen again, then is our preaching vain, and your faith is also vain . . . you are yet in your sins." (I Cor. xv, 14 and 17.)

The Passion and Resurrection of Christ are for St Paul parts of a single whole. He regards the Resurrection as complementary to the Passion, and rarely

separates the two, even in thought ; his doctrine is a doctrine of Christ Crucified and Risen. From the text quoted above we can gather something of the meaning which the Resurrection had for him—" If Christ be not risen then is our preaching vain, and your faith is vain." It is, then, the Resurrection of Christ which is the foundation of our faith. Without the Resurrection " you are yet in your sins." It is Christ Risen Who is the source of grace, and the Resurrection is at once the seal and guarantee of the Atonement, the proof most easily grasped, of Christ's divinity, and the evidence of the conquest of death, not only for Him but for us. (cf. I Cor. xv.) Besides this it marks the passing of Christ's redemptive work into another phase.

Christ Glorified. " To this end Christ died and rose again ; that he might be Lord both of the dead and of the living." (Rom. xiv, 9.) Again and again St Paul makes exultant reference to the position of the glorified Christ. The work of Atonement being consummated, He was set on the right hand of God " in the heavenly places," and " God hath exalted him above the highest, and hath bestowed upon him the name which is above every name ; that at the name of Jesus every knee should bend, in heaven and on earth and under the earth, and that every tongue should confess that Jesus Christ is Lord." (Phil. ii, 9-11.) In heaven He reigns " all things being made subject to him. Having become as much greater than the angels as the name which he hath inherited surpasses theirs." (Heb. i, 4.) But the Son of God, having returned to the bosom of the Father, and possessing the glory which had been His before all time, has not ceased to be the Son of David " made of a woman." He is still God Man, the Second Adam, the Head of the Human race, Lord also " both of the dead and of the living." In Him the whole of that human race has triumphed over sin, and over death : " Christ dieth

now no more, death shall no more have dominion over him." (Rom. vi, 9.) And the glorious fruits of that Resurrection and Life overflow, as it were, from the Head of the body to the members, according as it is written "we shall be saved by his life."

The Foundation of Faith. "If thou confess with thy mouth the Lord Jesus, and believe in thy heart that God hath raised him up from the dead, thou shalt be saved." (Rom. x, 9.)

In these lines St Paul makes belief in the Resurrection the basic stone of faith, and thus of salvation. For the Resurrection presupposes the Passion, and gives assurance of the acceptance of that sacrifice which was offered on Calvary. The reconciliation with God is the work of the Passion; but by the Resurrection we know that God is reconciled. But St Paul has also another thought when he founds our faith on this mystery. So united are head and members that Christ's Resurrection is the evidence for ours. "For by a man came death, and by a man the Resurrection from the dead, and as in Adam all die, so in Christ shall all be made alive." (I Cor. xv, 21.)

In this and other passages St Paul teaches that the Resurrection of Christ implies our own. The argument is the same as in the case of the Passion. As by the First Adam came sin for all of us, and by the Second Adam redemption from sin for all of us; so by the First Adam came death for all, and by the Second resurrection for all, not only in the sense of the immortal life of the soul, but also in that of the resurrection of the body. This doctrine is clearly taught both in the first Epistle to the Corinthians, and in those to the Thessalonians. Soul and body in man make one thing, and Christ gives life to the whole. Christ, risen in the flesh, "is the first fruits of them that sleep," and His redemption of man was also a "redemption of the body." (Rom. viii, 23.)

The Lifegiving Spirit. "The last Adam (was made) into a quickening spirit." If the Resurrection was only the foundation of our faith then, faith being established, it would, in a sense, lose its significance, and be for us merely an historic fact. But this is not so. Christ is "a quickening spirit"; not only the victor over physical death, but the source and giver of spiritual life. "I live, but not I, for Christ liveth in me." (Gal. ii, 20.) And from the Risen Christ proceeds the Spirit, according to His promise; and "He that raised up Jesus Christ from the dead shall quicken also your mortal bodies, because of his Spirit that dwelleth in you. For the Spirit himself gives testimony to our spirit that we are the sons of God. And if sons, heirs also; heirs indeed of God and joint-heirs with Christ." (Rom. viii, 11, 16, 17.)

GENERAL SUMMARY

What has been written above is of course only the barest outline of Pauline Christology, a subject which would require at least an entire book to itself for any pretence at adequacy. Nevertheless it is hoped that the general character of his teaching is sufficiently clear. We shall now try to summarise what has been said, adding some references on each point.

(a) St Paul teaches that Jesus Christ is God; that He is the Son of God, existing from eternity, by Whom the world was created, is sustained, and will finally be judged. (Col. i, 15-17; Heb. i, 2-3, 8-13; I Cor. v, 3, 4, 9; I Thess. iv, 15; II Thess. i, 7-8; Phil. ii, 6.)

(b) This eternally pre-existent Christ became Man for our salvation; was crucified for us; and was raised from the dead. (Rom. i, 4; Gal. iv, 4; Phil. ii, 7, 8; Rom. iii, 25, v, 8-10; I Cor. xv, 3, 4, 20; Rom. vi, 9, viii, 34; Eph. i, 20.)

(c) He, after His resurrection, was glorified in heaven, and, having redeemed the world, bestows life and grace upon all those, His members, who believe in Him. (Eph. i, 20-23, ii, 5 ; Phil. ii, 9-11 ; Col. i, 18, 19 ; Rom. xiv, 9, x, 9, viii, 11, 16, 17.)

II

ST PAUL'S DOCTRINE OF THE CHURCH

CHRIST AND THE CHURCH

PAUL'S doctrine of the Church springs immediately from his teaching on Christ, and presupposes it to such an extent as to be incomprehensible without it. If Christ is, as we have seen, the head of the whole human race which collectively triumphs in His triumph, He is in a very special sense Head of the Church which derives its life from Him, or, to use a more Pauline phrase, lives in Him. For St Paul the Church expresses the practical application of the Redemption, and is the means whereby that Redemption, achieved generally for all, is appropriated by the individual. It is for the purpose of emphasising this vital relationship between St Paul's teaching on Christ and on the Church that we have here altered the obvious arrangement of subject matter, and defer our examination of his doctrine on faith and grace until after the Church has been treated of.

This we do the more readily that many non-Catholic groups have based their individualistic teaching on these subjects on a misconception of St Paul's doctrine and, the meaning of his teaching on the Church not being realised, or indeed much considered, have unconsciously distorted his doctrine on these other, but related points. Hence has arisen an impression, as we hold erroneous, that St Paul has either no distinctive doctrine on the Church, or else one inconsistent with the Catholic faith in a Church founded on Peter.

Our knowledge of St Paul's views is derived from two considerations; first what he says about the Church; secondly how he is known to have acted in regard to it. This brings about a natural division of the subject into two parts: I. The Church in its essence; II. The Church externally manifested.

I. THE CHURCH IN ITS ESSENCE

The Church described

To St Paul the union of Christians with Christ is so intimately vital a connection that he makes it the basic fact of his teaching on the Church. So close is this union that the sin of a Christian against his own body is for St Paul, a sin against the Body of Christ. (I Cor. vi, 15-17.) But this union is not merely individual, it is social: "We, being many are one body in Christ: and every one members one of another." (Rom. xii, 5.) Thus a division, or schism among Christians is a division of Christ Himself and Paul, hearing of such doctrinal disputes at Corinth, writes passionately demanding: "Is Christ divided? Was Paul crucified for you?" (I Cor. i, 13, cf. preceding verses.)

The descriptive phrases and images which St Paul uses for the Church are all designed to bring out clearly the vital reality of this union of Christians with each other, and with Christ. Of these descriptions one is more frequently used, and more particularly developed, than the others; we shall therefore presently return to it.

The Figures of the Church. In the first place St Paul conceives of the Church as a building: "Built upon the foundation of the apostles and prophets, Jesus Christ himself being the chief corner-stone: in whom all the building being framed together, groweth up into an holy temple of the Lord in whom you also are built together into an habitation of God in the Spirit."

(Eph ii, 20-22.) Here the Church taken as a whole makes up the building, each individual is a stone, the apostles and prophets are foundation stones, and Christ is "the chief corner stone" on Whom all depends. Let us examine for a moment the significance of this image.

The Church, if a building, is visible ; no one could compare it to a temple made of stones without supposing that it would be seen. Secondly, it has unity of design, it is not a mere heap or fortuitous collection of fragments ; this fact comes out with special clarity if we recall the usual plan of a Greek temple, conspicuous for its simplicity of outline, which St Paul probably had in mind ; or even if we consider the design of the temple at Jerusalem, built on its ascending series of terraces. Thirdly, in a building, each separate stone derives its significance from its position relatively to the others, and to the design as a whole. Take one from its place—a stone from the wall, for example—by itself it means nothing, it is nothing, an insignificant block. But the temple is still a temple. Fourthly, this Temple is "an habitation of God in the Spirit." In the innermost shrine of the heathen temple stood the image of the god. Within the Holy of Holies at Jerusalem was the empty space which signified the invisible Spirit, the Creator and Father. In this Temple is, not the symbol, but the reality of that Divine Presence. Further, it is the Temple as a whole which God inhabits, the stones built together, not the stones apart. This, of course, merely distinguishes between those who assert, with St Paul, that it is the Church as a whole which is directed by God, and those who would make doctrine depend on the light of the Holy Spirit as given to individuals ; it must be understood in relation to the other doctrine of the indwelling of God in the heart of the believer. In the second verse quoted another image is implied : The building "being framed together,

groweth up into a holy temple in the Lord." That is to say, the stones are not dead blocks held into position by their own weight, or some external means of adhesion ; they live, and by that interior life are bound in one. But that life, again, is not the life of the stone as stone, it is the life of the corner stone ; the life of the Church is from Christ.

The second comparison which the Apostle uses is also to be found clearly set forth in the Epistle to the Ephesians—(Eph. v, 22-29.) In this passage the Church is to Christ as the bride to the husband. " The husband is the head of the wife as Christ is the Head of the Church . . . therefore . . . the Church is subject to Christ." From this passage, the whole of which should be read in this connection, we learn that " Christ loved the Church and delivered himself for it . . ." that He sanctifies it " that he might present it to himself a glorious church . . . holy and without blemish . . ." that He " nourishes and cherishes it. Because we are members of His Body, of His flesh and of His bones." Here we may note first, the teaching on marriage given at this point : " That they shall be two in one flesh." The doctrine of the sacrament of marriage seems here clearly presupposed since the union of the Church with Christ is considered even more intimate, even more indissoluble than the bond of earthly marriage, the most intimate union with which it could be compared : " Men ought to love their wives as their own bodies . . . but ' we ' are members of His body, of His flesh, and of His bone."

Let us, however, enquire more particularly into the special significance of this image. The Church is the Bride of Christ, a living personality, indivisible, one, as all personalities are. As Bride she is intimately united to Christ Who loves her, sacrificed Himself for her, and sanctifies her in view of her future state of glory with Him. Who shall wound the Bride of Christ ?

Who shall set up another and say to Him : This is she ? or : This is also she ? " I know My own, and My own knoweth Me," said the Master. (John x, 14.) The latter part of this passage on the Bride introduces us to the Apostle's favourite way of speaking of the Church, which we must now more closely examine.

The Mystical Body. " He is the Head of the Body, the Church." (Col. i, 18.) This relationship of Christ to the Church as the head to the body is constantly referred to by St Paul, and constantly implied even where not specifically stated. Its significance is inexhaustible. We must remember always that this is not a mere figure of speech to St Paul but an actual fact. From it he deduces, as we saw in the introduction to Chapter One, the whole of his moral teaching : " Shall I take the limbs of Christ and make them the limbs of an harlot ? " and, in reference to the sin of schism or heresy, " Is Christ divided ? " (cf. also Eph. iv, 11-16.) Not as a poetic simile, but as a fact not to be evaded or explained away is this image used. We here note some of its consequences.

The Head is clearly dominant over the Body ; the guide and governor against whom rebellion is hardly more wrong than ridiculous. And the removal of the Head is the instant death of the body. But, on the other hand, the Body is the complement of the Head, sustained by the same life, united in the same feelings, and the vehicle or instrument of the Head's activity. All this is clearly recognised by St Paul. (Col. i, 18-19, ii, 10, 19 ; Eph. iv, 16, v, 23 ; I Cor. xii, 13, 27, etc.)

" We being many, are one body in Christ, and every one members one of another." (Rom. xii, 5.) So far we have spoken of the relationship between Christ as the Head, and the body taken as a whole. But this text from Romans shows that St Paul had also envisaged the practical consequences of this doctrine

for the different parts of the body in relation to each other.

If Christians are united to Christ they are, *ipso facto*, united to each other. Nor is this unity one merely of common interests, or even only of a common faith ; it is the unity of a living organism, nourished all from one source (I Cor. x, 17), having one Spirit (I Cor. xii, 13), partaking of one life, with all its parts mutually interdependent. (I Cor. xii, 15-24.) But this mutual interdependence has a practical consequence which St Paul states—(I Cor. xii, 24-27)—when he says : “ God hath tempered the body together . . . that there might be no schism in the body : but the members might be mutually careful one of another. And if one member suffer anything all the members suffer with it ; or if one member glory, all the members rejoice with it. Now you are the body of Christ and members of member.” There is no equivocation or ambiguity about this statement. However disregarding or careless individuals may be about some part of the Church merely because it is distant from them in space, time, or circumstance, it does not alter the fact that the welfare of such a part, though it be distant as the North Pole, is our welfare, its loss, our loss, as its life is our life. Diminution of life, loss of strength, in any part, is loss for the whole. If a Christian sins he has lost grace not only personally but socially ; he has impoverished in that degree the life of the whole body of the faithful. Similarly a saint enriches the whole Church with his sanctity, and any grace to an individual means grace to the whole.

But, further, this is not any body ; it is the Body of Christ. And, if we do not realise, say an injury done to the Church in a distant region, as an injury done to ourselves which it truly is, yet we may realise it as an injury done to Christ which it is also ; an outrage on His Mystical Body.

One other word. The adjective "mystical" is sometimes taken as meaning poetic, pleasing, but not real: it is supposed that if a thing is said to be mystical it has no real existence in fact. That is a misuse of the word, especially in the present instance: "If (the body) is called 'mystical' this is not to deny its reality but to distinguish it from the physical body taken by the Word in the womb of Mary . . . and particularly to express certain mysterious properties of the supernatural order which are not less real because they cannot be demonstrated by sensory experience."¹

The Holy Spirit and the Church

Paul's Witness to the Spirit. We have so far had occasion to speak only of the First Two Persons of the Blessed Trinity. But St Paul could not, and does not, ignore the Third. The Holy Spirit is, for example, the distributor of graces: "The grace of our Lord Jesus Christ, and the charity of God, and the communication of the Holy Spirit be with you all." (II Cor. xiii, 13.) It is He again Who enables us "to confess that Jesus Christ is Lord": "No one can say, The Lord Jesus, but by the Holy Ghost." (I Cor. xii, 3.) The charismata, or special gifts as of miracles or prophecy which we have spoken of before, are the work of the Spirit. (I Cor. xii, 4, *et seq.*) Our sonship of God, joint-heirship with Christ, depends on the presence of the Holy Spirit in our hearts: "For whosoever are led by the Spirit of God; they are the sons of God." (Rom. viii, 14.) The Christian virtues are the fruits of the Spirit. (Gal. v, 22-23.) Those who are Christ's live "in the Spirit." (Gal. v, 23-24.) Timothy is bidden to "Keep the good thing committed to thy trust by the Holy Ghost who dwelleth in us." (II Tim. i, 14.) And justification, the being made righteous before God,

¹ Prat, *Theology of St Paul*.

is "In the name of our Lord Jesus Christ, and the Spirit of our God." (I Cor. vi, 11.)

In the Creed we profess our belief in the Holy Ghost "Who proceedeth from the Father and the Son." And St Paul has the same teaching (Gal. iv, 4-6.) Again, He is equal with the Father and the Son, and the Apostle's mode of referring to Him implies this also. (II Cor. xiii, 13; I Cor. xii, 4-6.)

We should expect then that St Paul would assign a very special place to the Holy Spirit in his teaching on the Church, and this is indeed the case.

The Work of the Holy Spirit in the Church. "You are the temple of the living God." (II Cor. vi, 16.) If Christ is the Head of the Church, the Holy Spirit is, as it were, its soul, and the agent of its life. Besides His function as the sanctifier of the individual soul, important as that is to the Church Militant, the Holy Spirit bears a special relation to the Church as a whole. In the first place, the reception of the Holy Ghost in baptism is the mode of entrance into the Church; but, besides this, the Holy Spirit guards and guides the Church, especially in matters of doctrine.

It is the Spirit Who gives warning that "in after times some will fall away from the faith" and teach a false asceticism. (I Tim. iv, 1-3.) It is the Spirit Who made known to the "holy apostles and prophets" and to Paul in particular, the inclusion of the Gentiles in the Gospel. (Eph. iii, 4-6.) Again the Spirit is the pledge and bond of the unity of the Church, to Paul so all-important. "In one Spirit were we all baptized into one body." (I Cor. xii, 13.) And the Ephesians are bidden to "Keep the unity of the Spirit in the bond of peace, one body and one Spirit." (Eph. iv, 3-4.) The warning comes with peculiar force, occurring as it does in the Epistle in which the Apostle especially develops his conception of the Church which he has just called "an habitation of God in the Spirit."

The Holy Spirit, then, is to the Church collectively the guardian and revealer of doctrine. In Him is entrance into the Church which is His habitation, and His presence therein is the bond of unity—one Body because one Spirit ; one Spirit, therefore *one* Body.

Christ's redeeming Death has rendered possible the presence of the Holy Spirit in the individual by baptism, confirmation and grace. Thus present, unless rejected by sin (Eph. iv, 30 ; I Thess. iv, 8) He is "the pledge of our inheritance" (Eph. i, 14) : the Distributor of graces (I Cor. xii, 3-4) : the Helper of our infirmities Who guides our prayers (Rom. viii, 26) : the Means whereby the charity of God is poured into our hearts (Rom. v, 5) : and the pledge of God's favour towards us (II Cor. v, 5.)

The Qualities of the Church

What special qualities characterise this Church which is the Body of Christ and the habitation of the Holy Spirit ? We are accustomed to seek for certain "notes," as they are called, the possession of all of which distinguishes the Church of God from all other religious organisations. We ask of this Church that it should be visible, one, holy, apostolic, Catholic (universal). Did St Paul contemplate a Church possessing any such qualities ? Undoubtedly he did.

Visible. All the analogies and comparisons used by St Paul to express his conception of the Church presuppose that it is visible and organised. It is a temple made with stones ; it is a Bride ; it is to Christ as its Head as the human body is to the human head. It is, moreover, living, and growing to the completion of a given design. None of these comparisons and statements are compatible with the idea of a Church as a purely invisible interior entity ; a temple is not only visible but conspicuous among other buildings, it is inconceivable that a bride, or the human body should

be of their nature invisible. The Church then, is visible.

One. It must be very clear from what has been said already that St Paul conceived, not a group of churches more or less alike, and more or less different, but a Church in all respects one. As in the case of visibility, all the analogies imply this. If it is a temple, it is not several temples, if a bride not several brides. Legend depicts for us monsters having more than one head, the hydra, for example; but not even legend has imagined the existence of a head having more than one body. But St Paul does not leave it at that; he has the plain statement (Eph. iv, 5-6): "One body and one Spirit: as you are called in one hope of your calling. One Lord, one faith, one baptism. One God and Father of all." The Church is one Body—that of Christ—vivified by one life—that of the Spirit having its source in Christ, obeying one Lord, ruled by one faith bestowed in one baptism; having before it one hope in "one God and father of all who is above all, and through all, and in us all." So complete is this unity that difference of opinion in the faith cannot be permitted (I Cor. i); and factiousness or heresy by its very nature is excluded from the Church (Tit. iii, 10-11) for it is "the Church of the living God, the pillar and ground of the truth." (I Tim. iii, 5.)

Holy. The Church, then, is visible and one. Is it holy? Clearly, for to this end Christ died: "Christ loved the Church and delivered himself for it, that he might sanctify it." (Eph. v, 26.) Then either the Church is holy or Christ failed. Again, the Christian calling imposes the strongest obligations of personal holiness on individual members of the Church: "Called to be saints," i.e., consecrated to God. The Christian lives "in the Spirit" with another purpose, wisdom and end than that of the world. Furthermore, the Church in itself is the Body of Christ, the habitation

of the Holy Spirit. Can it then be other than holy? Clearly it cannot; to affirm otherwise were to assert that Christ's Body and God's Spirit were not holy. The Church then is holy, in itself, and in the holiness of individual members.

Apostolic. The Church is built on "the foundation of the apostles and prophets: Jesus Christ being the chief corner stone." (Eph. ii, 20.) If the Apostles are themselves the foundation stones on which the fabric is based the Church is certainly apostolic in origin and constitution. It is also apostolic in act since its members are under obligation to "the building up of the Body of Christ." (Eph. iv, 12.) The Church of St Paul then, is visible, one, holy, apostolic. Remains Catholicity.

Catholic. Could St Paul have had in mind a Church which was national or racial? If so, what meaning is there in all he says of unity? Most unequivocal are his utterances on this subject: "There is not Gentile or Jew, circumcision or uncircumcision, barbarian, slave, freeman, but Christ is all and in all." (Col. iii, 11.) "There is neither Jew nor Greek, there is neither bond nor free, there is neither male or female. For you are all one in Christ Jesus." (Gal. iii, 28.) "There is no distinction of the Jew or Greek" he told the Romans, and the whole of his special mission was based on this fact. What was the call of the Gentiles as given through St Paul but the divine proclamation that the Church of God was not included in any nation or race, though it be the Chosen People. "For the promise is to you and to your children and to all that are far off, whomsoever the Lord our God shall call." (Acts ii, 39.) In those words of St Peter is compressed the very "gospel" of St Paul, confirmed as they were by the divine mandate "Go, for unto the Gentiles far off will I send thee." (Acts xxii, 21.) And what do those words mean but that the Church of God is a Catholic Church, and that St Paul knew it to be so?

II. THE CHURCH EXTERNALLY MANIFESTED

We have seen how St Paul conceived of the Church in itself, its nature, and its special characteristics ; we have now to see what both his conduct, and his teaching have to tell us about its external organisation and powers.

Organisation

The external organisation of the Church was a matter of gradual growth and development. It did not, and could not, spring like Minerva full-armed from the head of Jove ; its systems and offices were elaborated as they became necessary and possible. It is obvious that the Church proscribed cannot manifest itself externally as can the Church honoured by Emperors ; that the Church in infancy cannot display the machinery of the Church full grown : that in the catacombs it will not have the same outward appearance as at the Court of Constantine, or the castle of Canossa. But, of what we believe essential to the organisation of the Church, how much was recognised or approved by St Paul ; for how much of the Roman system can his authority be claimed ? One assumption it seems fair to make ; that he approved what he knew of and is nowhere found to condemn. And the more readily do we assume this that we know from " Acts " how quick the Apostle was to criticise what he thought amiss whenever it was of importance.

Primacy of Peter. Catholics believe that the Church of God is founded on the Prince of the Apostles ; that when our Lord said : " Thou art Kipha, and on this Kipha I will build my Church," He meant what He said. How far does St Paul concede the Petrine claim to supremacy ? Our evidence is principally to be found in the " Acts of the Apostles," and in the " Epistle to the Galatians." In the Epistle to the Galatians

(i, 18) we find that when Paul, after his conversion, first returned to Jerusalem, it was "to see Peter." Again, "after fourteen years" he visited Jerusalem once more in order to lay his doctrine before the Apostles: "lest perhaps I had run, or should run in vain." (We may remind ourselves that St Paul always sought the authorisation of the Church before acting even when he knew God's will by personal revelation.) That doctrine was approved by James (the local bishop), Cephas (Peter) and John, "who seemed to be pillars." Here two others are associated with Peter; but, if we refer to Acts xv, 7-12, we find that it was in fact Peter who made and issued the decision, the others simply expressing their concurrence with it.

Further, there is the incident in which, says St Paul, "When Peter was come to Antioch I withstood him to his face because he was to be blamed." (Gal. ii, 11.) The point here is that St Peter had been urged into adopting a practical policy inconsistent with the doctrinal position he had taken up. St Paul reproached him—much more mildly than later saints reproached the Popes of their day—because of the tremendous influence which this act (of St Peter) had upon every one else. So great was St Peter's authority that even St Barnabas, committed as he already was to the opposite course, yielded at once to his example. St Paul tells St Peter that this action of his; namely refusing social intercourse with Gentiles, will positively "compel the Gentiles also to live as do the Jews" (i.e., observe the Mosaic convention). To admit that an action of Peter's, even one inconsistent with his own doctrine, will be of compulsive force on all who know of it, is surely to accord him a very striking position, and when this is taken together with the personal deference that Paul himself is always seen to show him we must admit that St Paul seems to recognise in St Peter a special prerogative.

Episcopate and Priesthood. At the time of which we write the functions of the episcopate and the priesthood were not yet clearly differentiated, though both names are used. This was natural since the government of the Church still remained with the Apostolic College ; and not till after they could no longer be appealed to would the necessity of distinguishing clearly the functions of those who had worked under their direction be felt. The Apostolic succession was, nevertheless, maintained. St Paul himself, though he refers to the same people apparently the titles bishop and priest (Tit. i, 5 and 7), nevertheless certainly confers special powers on Timothy and on Titus, whom he sends to Ephesus and to Crete respectively. Timothy, and presumably also Titus, had received an ordination "through prophecy with the laying on of the priests' hands" (I Tim. iv, 14) and he is several times bidden not to neglect the grace thus received. In II Tim. i, 6, we are told that Paul himself, he who possessed the fulness of the apostolate, had been one of those who ordained Timothy. We find, then, that both Timothy and Titus had special powers delegated by the Apostle himself, of government and discipline. They are instructed by him on the proper method of treatment both of the clergy, and of the different classes of faithful ; and on the qualities to be looked for in candidates for the priesthood and diaconate. Timothy in particular, is warned not to ordain hastily. (I Tim. v, 22.) Both receive very stringent injunctions to guard against false doctrine. It seems therefore that both Timothy and Titus exercised, though in subordination to the Apostle himself, the functions now associated with the title of bishop. They were not however diocesans in our sense of the word. Titus, for example, is to remain at Crete only till he is replaced by Tychicus or Artemas ; it would appear then that they exercised these powers in any place whither the Apostle might send them,

much in the way with which the history of the Celtic Church has made us familiar.

In the absence of the Apostle, or any person appointed by him, the churches in different regions were apparently directed by groups of presbyters who, of course, were the normal ministers of the Sacraments, even when Paul was there, since we know that he himself very seldom administered the sacrament, for example, of baptism even to his own converts. In various places in the Epistles St Paul reminds the faithful of their duty of obedience to the spiritual authority of their presbyters. (cf. II Thessalonians.)

The function of the diaconate is made clear in an early chapter of Acts, and Paul's advice to Timothy and Titus is on the same lines. The deacons received a form of ordination (Acts vi, 6), but their chief concern was with temporal affairs, and not for many years did the diaconate necessarily imply the priesthood in the future. In practice, then, if not always in name, the churches directed by St Paul contained three grades of clergy; deacons, who were principally engaged in the ministrations of charity; presbyters, or priests, who administered the Sacraments, and others who, though not yet clearly distinguished from the priesthood in title, nevertheless exercised over them the powers of the episcopate.

Apart from what we gather from St Paul of the function of bishops (priests) and deacons, it is evident from passages in Romans, Corinthians, Ephesians, etc., that the Apostle always envisaged the Church as being organised in grades, though the lists he gives includes some ranks which were temporary in character and depended on the possession of the charismata.

SUMMARY

If, then, we examine the historical evidence to be found in St Paul's life and writings on the con-

stitution of the Church of his day, as approved by him, we find in the first place that that Church was hierarchically organised, obscure as the exact details of that organisation may be. Secondly, that within that hierarchy are to be distinguished three groups, already distinct in act, though not yet altogether differentiated in name, and that these three grades correspond to those of Bishop, Priest, and Deacon. Thirdly, that the special duties of these officers were for the first, the guardianship of doctrine, the government, under an Apostle, of local churches, and the conferring of Order. Of the second, the administration of the Sacraments, and the teaching of doctrine. Of the third, the dispensing of the temporal goods of the Church. Fourthly, that while Paul himself, and the other Apostles exercised a peculiar authority, yet that he, like them, recognised a very special prerogative to be possessed by the Apostle St Peter.

N.B.—We see from passages in Corinthians and Timothy that St Paul himself did not hesitate to exercise the power of excommunication, in one case for immorality, in two others for blasphemy; the culprit in the first case being reinstated on evidence of repentance.

Functions of the Church

How far do we find the Church of St Paul's day performing the functions which we now associate with it?

Custody of the Sacraments

Baptism. As we said above, the only accredited mode of entrance into the Church was by means of the Sacrament of Baptism. St Paul nowhere has occasion to describe in detail the form whereby any sacrament was administered; this was part of the elementary instruction of converts with which, as we saw in the

introduction, he has in his Epistles very little to do. Of the form of Baptism he only says that it was "in the name of the Lord Jesus"; for he is much more concerned with the mystical meaning and effects of this sacrament than with its outward sign, and the consideration of this part of his doctrine will come more properly into our enquiry into his teaching on grace. Here our object is simply to learn how far St Paul regarded the Church as the custodian of the sacraments. Let it merely be noted here that St Paul knows of no other way into the Church than by Baptism which, by communicating the Holy Spirit to the recipient unites him to the supernatural life of the Church. And it is obviously for the Church to prescribe the conditions for entrance into herself.

Holy Eucharist. In the two principal passages where St Paul speaks of the Holy Eucharist (I Cor. x and xi) he regards it quite definitely as the bond and pledge of ecclesiastical unity. "For we, being many, are one bread, one body: all that partake of one bread." The full force of this statement will not be realised until we have entered upon the Apostle's teaching on the Real Presence. But it must be noted that he is speaking of the Eucharist here in contradistinction to the false communions of the Pagan creeds. It is the characteristic of the true religion that its adherents, partaking of one Bread, are members of one body. That Bread, as we have seen, was administered by priests specially set apart, and in the first passage referred to we see St Paul's care that it be reverently consecrated, and reverently received.

Matrimony and Order are the other two sacraments mentioned by St Paul. The occasions of his writing, and the limitations, already explained under which he wrote, give him no opportunity of expounding the others. His silence on them is itself a proof that he did not differ from the other Apostles, and we know

ST PAUL'S DOCTRINE OF THE CHURCH III

from St James, for example, what their teaching was on Holy Unction, to name only one of the three. Matrimony he treats, as we have noticed before, as the symbol of the union between Christ and His Church, as by Order he regarded Timothy as being empowered for the work of the Church. We see therefore that the sacraments were regarded by St Paul as immediately, and indissolubly associated with the life of that Church which cannot be other than one. Baptism means membership with her, the Eucharist is the bond of her unity, Marriage is the symbol of it. These things, therefore, are her property in a very intimate way. Would St Paul have admitted that any other body could have claimed any right over the sacraments? The answer to that question is that the possibility of there being any Christians not in communion with "the Pillar and Ground of the truth" is one that never entered the Apostle's mind for a moment. But if it had, what answer would he have made who taught of all the sacraments of which he treated at length, that they were the symbols, means, and pledges of the indissoluble unity of the One Body of Christ?

THE CHURCH THE GUARDIAN OF DOCTRINE

"The Church is the pillar and the ground of the truth." (I Tim. iii, 15.) St Paul invokes anathema upon any, even an angel from heaven, who should teach any other gospel than that which he taught with the sanction of the rest of the Apostolic College. He rejects, even with violence, the suggestion of any doctrinal disputes. As for those who, like the Judaisers, were definitely heretical, he wishes "that they were even cut off." In another place he stigmatises the heresies which he foresaw the near future would bring, as "the doctrine of devils." He warns Timothy to "hold fast the form of sound words which thou hast heard of me," repeating his warning again shortly

after in a formula even more urgent, and adding a reason "Knowing of whom thou hast learned them" (namely of me, an Apostle) (II Tim. i and iii.) These injunctions have the greater weight that they were given shortly before the saint's martyrdom, and were almost his last words to his most beloved disciple. Enumerating to Titus the necessary qualities of a Bishop he says that he must "embrace that faithful word which is according to doctrine that he may be able to exhort in sound doctrine and to convince gainsayers." Titus himself is to be an example "in doctrine" and "the sound word that cannot be blamed." (Tit. i, 9; ii, 7-8.)

St Paul then not only did not admit any differences of doctrine, but rejected them with horror, making it one of the principal duties of a bishop to prevent them. But one Gospel, but one doctrine, was possible; that which the Church had received from the Apostles. Of this truth she is the "pillar and the ground." "Faith comes by hearing, and hearing by the word of Christ." But, says the Apostle: "We have the mind of Christ."

SUMMARY

The following points then, are discernible in St Paul's doctrine on the Church. It is the habitation of the Holy Spirit, it is visible, one, holy, Catholic, Apostolic: St Peter possesses in it a unique function: it is hierarchically organised; it possesses and administers the sacraments, and is the guardian and teacher of doctrine.

III

ST PAUL'S DOCTRINE ON FAITH

NO one can read the Epistles of St Paul even casually, without being struck by the importance of the office he ascribes to faith. He tells the Romans, as he has already told the Galatians, (iii, 24), that it is by faith they are justified (v. 6), not by the practices of the Mosaic Law; he rejoices because the faith of the Romans is spoken of throughout the whole world (Rom. i); he writes to the Ephesians that with "the shield of faith" they can "extinguish all the fiery darts of the most wicked one" (vi, 16). He promises the Colossians salvation "if so ye continue in the faith" (i, 23); bids the Corinthians remember "in faith you stand" (II Cor. i, 23) or warns them that if their faith is vain they are yet in their sins (I Cor. xv, 17.) And, in his last days, summing up the whole of his life and apostleship, he says: "I have fought the good fight: I have finished my course: I have kept the faith." (II Tim. iv, 7.) What then does he mean by this word 'faith,' which seems to mean so much?

MEANING OF FAITH

In the Epistle to the Hebrews

A very long list could be made if all the references to faith in St Paul's writings were collected together; they are scattered through all the Epistles. There is, however, but one definition. (Heb. xi, 1.) "Faith is the substance of things to be hoped for, the evidence

of things that appear not." Here, and in several other places (cf. Rom. iv) he illustrates his meaning by the example of those, such as Abraham, who believed without doubting that something would come to pass in the future even though human probability was against it; and believed because of God's promise to that effect. (cf. Heb. xi and Rom. iv throughout.) They believed, that is, in something that human reason could not discover (as that Sara, being old, would bear a son) on the authority of God Who had said so. ¹The word which the Douay Version translates "substance" may equally well be translated "assurance"; and what the same version calls "evidence" may be also rendered "conviction." These words bring out more clearly the exact bearing of the illustrations.

Conviction implies intellectual belief, the assent of the intellect to truth. Assurance, whether it be taken as meaning "firm confidence," or as meaning "substance or reality," operates as strengthening the conviction. Faith then, as defined and illustrated in chapter xi of Hebrews will mean: "intellectual assent to a truth not to be reached by reason on the authority of God Who declared it." "By faith also Sara herself, being barren, received strength to conceive seed, even past the time of age: because she believed that he was faithful who had promised." (Heb. xi, 11.) And that faith was the assurance (certainty) of that which was hoped for, the conviction of the truth of those things which to reason "appear not." It is evident that in this definition we are approaching that very familiar one "Faith is the supernatural gift of the ability to believe without doubting whatever God has revealed"; and indeed, as St Thomas says in his commentary on this passage of Hebrews, "Whatever other definitions are given of faith are explanations of this one given by the Apostle."

¹ Cf. note on this passage in the Westminster Version.

We have learned so far that St Paul understands by faith that it is the assurance of things to be hoped for ; the conviction of (or undoubting belief in), things which as yet do not appear to reason, and this on Divine Authority. We must now see what added meaning these words have when they are examined in the light of what is said in the other Epistles on this subject.

Faith in the other Epistles

St Paul tells the Thessalonians that they were made " a pattern to all that believe in Macedonia and in Achaia . . . your faith which is towards God is gone forth, so that we need not to speak of anything. For they themselves relate . . . how you turned to God from idols to serve the living and true God and to wait for his Son from heaven." (I Thess. i, 7-10.) So then, the faith of the Thessalonians was shown in a turning to God from idols ; that is, whereas they had believed in gods who were no gods, they now believe in God, the true God, in His Son, and in the future coming of His Son to Judgment : three dogmata. A similar passage is to be found in the Second Epistle to the Corinthians (vi, 15, 16) : " What concord hath Christ with Belial ? Or what part hath the faithful with the unbeliever ? And what agreement hath the temple of God with idols ? For you are the temple of the living God." Here again Christian faith is primarily belief in a true religion as opposed to a false one ; in the argument from which this is an extract the Apostle is showing the utter incompatibility between the two doctrinal systems, of Belial and of Christ. To this conception of faith as primarily belief in the true God, agree the words of St Thomas : " The object of faith is the First Truth " (namely, God : *Summa. Secunda Secunda* Q.1. A4).

Again, St Paul tells the Corinthians that if their faith be vain they are yet in their sins. True. And, if Christ

be not risen their faith is vain. (I Cor. xv.) Therefore faith here is the conviction of the truth of the dogma of Christ's Resurrection. In First Corinthians also we are told that "It pleased God by the foolishness of our preaching to save them that believe." (i, 21.) "But we preach Christ crucified" (*ibid.*). Belief in this then was the faith that saved both Gentile and Jew.

In Ephesians i, 13 we read that these converts "believing were signed with the Holy Spirit of Promise": and that what they believed was "the word of truth, the gospel of your salvation." In Colossians the Apostle's injunction to his converts to remain steadfast in the faith is immediately followed by a warning that they must let no man cheat them by his philosophy or deceitful fancies.

In all these passages it is clear that St Paul is using the word faith in the sense of belief in the body of doctrine, or Gospel, which he preached, namely, the Gospel of Christ crucified and risen from the dead. The same idea is implied in Romans i, where the moral decline of the Gentiles is described. These (*a*) initially knew God on the evidence of the creation: (*b*) became vain in their *thoughts*: (*c*) professing to be wise became fools: (*d*) hence changed the truth of God to a lie by becoming idolators: (*e*) and as a result became even more morally corrupt than they previously were. From this condition the Gospel will save them. "For it is the power of God unto salvation to everyone that believeth. . . . For the justice of God is revealed therein, from faith unto faith, as it is written 'the just¹ man liveth by faith.' For the wrath of God is revealed from heaven against all ungodliness and injustice of those men that detain the truth of God in injustice." (Rom. i, 16-18.)

Faith we found before was the conviction of a truth on Divine Authority. We now learn what truth is the

¹ Just = righteous.

object of faith, which is salvation for everyone that believeth ; it is the existence of the one true God with the facts of the Gospel. This body of doctrine St Paul himself summarises for us in a brief sentence which includes or implies all the necessary dogmas : " If thou confess with thy mouth the Lord Jesus, and believe in thy heart that God hath raised him up from the dead, thou shalt be saved." (Rom. v, 9.) The faith that justifies then is belief in God, in the Divinity of Our Lord, and in His Resurrection which itself presupposes His saving Death and Incarnation.

SUMMARY

We gathered from the Epistle to the Hebrews that faith as there defined and illustrated, meant " intellectual assent (conviction) to a truth not to be reached by reason on the authority of God Who declared it." We find from our examination of the other Epistles that this primary meaning is not in any way altered ; but that it is enriched by the specification of those truths which are thus believed : it is assent to the truth of the Gospel of Christ ; especially to two fundamental parts of it, namely, His Divinity¹ and His Resurrection with all that these imply, and on the word of God. " When you received of us the word of the hearing of God, you received it not as the word of man, but (as it is indeed) the word of God who worketh in you." (I Thess, ii, 13.)

Note 1. It must not be overlooked that faith for St Paul also contains the notion of obedience : " obeying from the heart that form of doctrine into which you have been delivered." (Rom. vi, 17.) The assent of the intellect must be accompanied by the submission of the will to that Gospel of God which He had promised by His prophets and had finally revealed by His Son ; by Whom Paul himself had " received grace and apostleship for obedience to the faith." (cf. Rom. i : Heb. i.)

¹ Belief in the Divinity of Christ necessarily involves belief in all His teaching : " God is true and every man a liar."

Note 2. Affective Dispositions and Faith. Are any particular emotional sensations, such as a subjective feeling of being saved, or any other feeling, essential parts of faith, or necessary accompaniments of it? St Paul nowhere suggests it. There are but two passages which can be taken to refer to this subject at all. In the first (I Thess. i, 6) the Apostle simply mentions, in connection with faith, that joy which is a fruit of the Holy Spirit and has little affinity with mere emotions. The other passage is Romans xv, 13, where the Apostle prays: "Now the God of hope fill you with all joy and peace in believing; that you may abound in hope and in the power of the Holy Ghost." If then joy and peace, the nearest approach to emotions that St Paul ever mentions in association with faith, are to be prayed for, the Roman's faith being already "spoken of in the whole world," they do not necessarily accompany faith, and hence cannot be essential to it: there may be faith without any sensible affective dispositions. We gather, therefore, that while subjective states of feeling, as of joy and peace, could accompany faith, they need not do so; they are the gifts of God in the Holy Spirit, and are not to be sought in themselves but in order to a further end.

2. THE CHARACTER OF FAITH

Our conceptions of the meaning which St Paul attached to faith will be much enriched when we have considered its character and efficacy; whence it comes, how it comes, and what it does.

Origin of Faith

If faith is a conviction of the intellect will it not arise in the intellect? The answer is "No. Faith is a free gift from God." "By grace you are saved through faith: and that not of yourselves for it is the gift of God." (Eph. ii, 8.) In Galatians (v, 23) faith is named among the fruits of the Holy Spirit. Faith, then, is direct from God, and not of man: "that no man may glory."

How is this gift obtained? Ultimately of course the cause of faith in any man is the Will of God in his regard (Rom. ix, 16.) But the normal means of its being brought about is, according to St Paul, "by hearing." "Whosoever shall call upon the name of the Lord shall be saved. How then shall they call on him in whom they have not believed? Or how shall they believe him of whom they have not heard? And how shall they hear without a preacher? And how shall they preach unless they be sent? . . . Faith then cometh by hearing, and hearing by the word of Christ." (Rom. x, 13-15, 17.) Faith, that is, comes from being told the word of Christ by preaching and teaching. But this preaching must be made effective by the Holy Spirit: "My speech and my preaching was not in the persuasive words of human wisdom, but in showing of the Spirit and power; that your faith might not stand on the wisdom of men, but on the power of God." (I Cor. ii, 4-5, cf. also II Thess. ii, 13.) An exposition therefore of the truths to be believed, energised and rendered effective by the inspiration of the Holy Spirit, is the normal means whereby St Paul expects conversions to the faith to take place. It must be remembered that the Apostle has occasion to deal only with the reception of the faith by adults; in the case of infants the affirmation is made by proxy; but the sanctifying grace of baptism necessarily involves the gift of faith, there being in infants no motion of the will to the contrary. Of what is for St Paul the normal process the incident recorded in Acts of Philip the Evangelist and the Æthiopian, affords an apposite illustration.

This conception introduces a voluntary element into the notion of faith. It is an act of the intellect certainly; but of the intellect moved by the will, itself disposed by the Holy Spirit to that end. To this agrees the saying of St Thomas: "The act of faith is to

believe which is an act of the intellect determinate to one object at the will's command." (Summa. Secunda Secundæ: Q.4. A.1.) Hence faith becomes an energising principle of the moral life; but of this we shall speak when we consider St Paul's doctrine on the effects, or the operation of faith in the soul.

The Necessity of Faith

Is faith necessary for salvation? St Paul answers "Yes." "Being justified therefore by faith let us have peace with God, through our Lord Jesus Christ: By whom also we have access through faith into this grace wherein we stand." (Rom. v, 1-2.) Is faith all that is necessary for salvation? St Paul answers "No." "We in spirit by faith wait for the hope of justice. For in Christ Jesus neither circumcision availeth anything nor uncircumcision (outward observance of discipline only) but faith that worketh by charity." Again to the Ephesians he says: "By grace you are saved through faith." (ii, 8.) And he tells the Corinthians that "If I should have all faith so that I could remove mountains, and have not charity, I am nothing. . . . And now there remain faith, hope and charity, these three: but the greatest of these is charity." (I Cor. xiii, 2 and 13.) When he speaks of justification by faith without mentioning other requisites, as in the first passage quoted, we must remember that he also speaks of justification by baptism (I Cor. vi, 11), of being saved by hope (Rom. viii, 24); of being justified by grace (Rom. iii, 24). The fact is that when many causes co-operate to produce one effect St Paul often attributes that effect indifferently to any one of the co-operating causes, without always repeating the whole list. In his contrast between faith and works he is simply contending that the mere blind fulfilment of ceremonial precepts can avail nothing; for what is required is the obedience of one who, by grace of the

Holy Spirit, submits intellect and will to the Revelation of God, made known to him, according to the constant trend of St Paul's teaching, by due authority: "How shall they hear without a preacher? And how shall they preach unless they be sent?" (Gk. *apostaloosin*.)

Faith is, however, essential to salvation; but the initial act of faith, brought about in the manner described, must be followed by baptism which by the infusion of sanctifying grace incorporates the believer in the Body of Christ, makes him participant in the life of the Spirit, forms his faith, and adds thereto the equally essential graces of hope and charity. (cf. Gal. iii, 27: Rom. xiii, 14; vi, 3-7: I Cor. vi, 11: Tit. iii, 5-7.) When St Paul, therefore, says, "In faith you stand" (II Cor. i, 23), or promises the Colossians salvation "If so ye continue in the faith" (i, 4), he does so because it is by faith that man knows his supernatural end, and the necessary conditions of attaining it, and because faith, itself due to grace, disposes him to receive the further gifts, also necessary, of hope and charity. Thus the Angelic Doctor in his treatise of faith, says, "Faith by its very nature precedes all other virtues; for the last end must of necessity be present to the intellect before it is present to the will, since the will has no inclination for anything except in so far as it is apprehended by the intellect." (Summa. Secunda Secundæ: Q.4. A.1.)

It has been worth while to dwell somewhat at length on this point because on no point has the habit, still too common, of judging the Apostle's teaching by some detached fragment of it, been productive of more confusion than on this of the necessity of faith.

Operation of Faith

By faith we not only submit our intellects to believing the truths of religion, but also our wills to obeying them. We have seen above that the notion of obedience is

always included by St Paul in the notion of faith. Both these effects are due to the action of the Holy Spirit within us, of Whom faith is one of the fruits. Hence faith becomes in us an active principle of our moral life, predisposing us to do and receive those things whereby we obtain an increase of grace. Faith, for example, is the great motive force of prayer: "How shall they call on Him in Whom they have not believed?" Faith again, informed by divine charity, issues in the performance of every good work. And St Paul, therefore, writing to the Colossians, associates their faith in Christ Jesus with the charity they display to all the saints (Col. i, 3-4) and similarly in writing to the Thessalonians. (I Thess. iii, 6, etc.) "Inward faith with the aid of charity causes all outward acts of virtue." (Summa. Secunda Secundæ: Q.3. A.3.) Thirdly, faith is the great guardian of itself. It is with the shield of faith that we are able to extinguish all the fiery darts of the most wicked one (Eph. vi, 13-17), who is pre-eminently, as we saw, the spirit of error and of lies. (cf. also I Thess. v, 8.)

Fourthly, by faith we are assisted to overcome the dominion of sin; that we may not "grieve the Holy Spirit" of Whom we know, by faith, that we are the temple. "Without faith it is impossible to please God. For he that cometh to God must believe that he is: and is a rewarder of them that seek him." (Heb. xi, 6.)

SUMMARY

Faith then is a free gift of God in the Spirit whereby we are enabled to believe without doubting His holy revelation, so that, being by baptism incorporated into the Body of Christ, we receive those other graces which are necessary to salvation. And faith is then a principle of our moral life determining us to prayer, to the love of God, and to the performance of every good work. In concluding this section then, let us recall the

words of St Paul's own prayer for the Ephesians that God "would grant you, according to the riches of his glory, to be strengthened by his Spirit with might unto the inward man: that Christ may dwell by faith in your hearts that, being rooted and founded in charity, you may be able to comprehend with all the saints what is the breadth and length and height and depth—to know the charity of Christ that surpasseth knowledge, that ye may be filled unto all the fulness of God." (Eph. iii, 16-19.) No better summary can be found than this of the place and operation of faith in the Christian soul.

IV

ST PAUL'S DOCTRINE ON GRACE

IF "the first turning to God is by faith" (Summa. Prima Secundæ: Q.113. A.4), yet this faith itself is due to grace, as we have seen. It is grace that St Paul desires for his disciples, grace that he always begs for them at the beginning of his Epistles: "Grace be to you and peace" (Eph. i, 2: Phil. i, 2: Col. i, 3, etc.) and "The grace of our Lord Jesus Christ be with your spirit" is his favourite termination. (Gal. vi, 18: cf. also, Eph. vi, 24: Phil. iv, 23, etc.) It is by grace we are saved through faith (Eph. ii, 5), by grace we are freely justified (Rom. iii, 24). But it is Christ by Whose grace we are saved (Eph. ii, 5, cf. Gal. i, 6); it is God Who has purposed a redemption: "That he might show in the ages to come the abundant riches of his grace." (II Cor. xiii, 13.) We have now to enquire the meaning of this word Grace; but before we do so it is well to remind ourselves a little of what we discovered first of all (chap. i) lest in the examination of particular parts we should lose sight of the whole to which the Apostle's teaching tends.

The Blood of Christ then, is our redemption. It is Christ, the Son of God, and Son of Mary, Who is the beginning, the middle, and the end of the doctrine of St Paul. He Who had walked the fields of Palestine, and had bidden the sinner "Go in peace and sin no more," it is He "Who ever liveth to make intercession for us." (Heb. vii, 25.) He Who, victim and priest of the redeeming sacrifice, "by the Holy Ghost offered

himself unspotted unto God." (Heb. ix, 14.) If we are saved by faith it is because faith is belief in Christ and His redemption; if by baptism it is because by baptism we "put on Christ"; if by grace it is "the grace of our Lord Jesus Christ, the charity of God, and the communication of the Holy Spirit." And those who are redeemed are "the Epistle of Christ . . . written not with ink but with the Spirit of the living God." (II Cor. iii, 3.) And now let us turn to grace, "the unspeakable gift."

THE NATURE OF GRACE

St Paul used the word grace in two senses, a particular and a general. In the first case he means by grace any spiritual gift (cf. I Cor. xii), since all are freely given by God without our being able to claim them as a right (see also I Cor. viii, 1-4, where generosity in almsgiving is spoken of both as an effect of grace, and as itself a grace.) But he also speaks of grace in a general sense, as of being "under grace" and not under the Law (Rom. vi, 14), or, again, that "where sin abounded grace did more abound." (Rom. v, 20.) We have here the distinction between "Sanctifying grace", and "actual grace, or graces"; what is sometimes called "the grace of the occasion"; a special gift of heavenly assistance for a particular purpose or emergency; as, for example, strength to resist a sudden temptation. These assistances are called graces because they are free gifts, and that is the original meaning of the word grace (*gratia*, a favour). We also see, from the reference to the Macedonian Church in II Corinthians viii, that such a quality as generosity springing from, and inspired by, sanctifying grace, becomes a supernatural virtue, and is itself given the title of "a grace." It is with sanctifying grace that we are now concerned.

Sanctifying Grace

“The grace of God, life everlasting in Christ Jesus our Lord.” (Rom. vi, 23.)

In this passage St Paul is contrasting the state of sin with that of grace: the wages of sin is death; but the grace of God life everlasting. This conception of grace is also implied in many other passages where he speaks of the effects of grace. In what sense can grace be called life everlasting? In the first place because the remission of sins is by grace, and it is sin that excludes man from eternal life. By grace we are “freely justified”; that is, made just, or righteous before God; for sin, being atoned for on the Cross, is annulled and we, receiving grace, receive also those gifts of faith, hope, and charity, whereby we are enabled to work out our salvation though “in fear and trembling.” For, St Paul would have us ever remember, that justification is not absolute, it is always possible to “fall from grace,” and even the Apostle himself, though not conscious in himself of anything, dare not think himself secure. (Phil ii, 12-13; iii, 12-14: Gal. v, 4: I Cor. iv, 4.)

Grace, then, is life everlasting in that by it we are delivered from sin, and the dominion of sin; hence from death and the dominion of death, according as the Apostle says: “Unhappy man that I am, who shall deliver me from the body of this death? The grace of God by Jesus Christ our Lord.” (Rom. vii, 24-25.)

But, moreover, grace is life everlasting in another sense. “The gift of grace surpasses every capability of created nature, since it is nothing short of a partaking of the Divine Nature.” (Summa: Prima Secundæ Q. 112. A. 1.) The teaching of St Paul fully bears out these words of the Angelic Doctor. If to fall from grace is to be “void of Christ” (Gal. v, 4), the contrary evidently holds good also. The Master Him-

self said : " This is eternal life : that they may know thee the only true God, and Jesus Christ whom thou hast sent." (John xvii, 2.) But, teaches St Paul, by grace we are even one with Christ, for the infusion of sanctifying grace which comes by baptism unites to, rather, incorporates us with, His Mystical Body.

In Baptism we are " buried with Christ." " For we are buried together with him by baptism unto death ; that, as Christ is risen from the dead by the glory of the Father so we also may walk in newness of life. Now, if we be dead with Christ we believe that we shall live also together with Christ. Knowing that, Christ, rising again from the dead, dieth now no more." (Rom. vi, 4, 8, 9.) We live then with Christ, the life no longer " of servants but of sons and if a son, an heir also through God." And because of this sonship, " God hath sent the Spirit of his Son into (our) hearts crying : Abba, Father." (Gal. iv, 7, 6.) Again, as we said above, baptism incorporates us into the Mystical Body of Christ which is informed by the life of the Holy Spirit, in which also we become participant, thereby " partaking of the Divine Nature."

The infusion of Divine or supernatural life which is life everlasting, overcomes the dominion of death and elevates us into a state far surpassing that of nature, the state of co-heirship with Christ having God as our supernatural end. Therefore, while yet in the body, we live a life which is already that of eternity, and this life is called by St Paul, Grace. Thus " Where sin abounded grace did more abound that, as sin hath reigned to death, so also grace might reign by justice to life everlasting " : for " God commendeth his charity towards us : because when as yet we were sinners according to the time Christ died for us. For if, when we were enemies, we were reconciled to God by the death of his Son ; much more, being reconciled, shall we be saved by his life. And now, being made free

from sin and become servants to God you have your fruit unto sanctification, and the end life everlasting." (Rom. v, 20-21; v, 8-10; vi, 22.)

THE MEANS OF GRACE

The original and only source of grace is of course God. No one but God could be capable of giving it, since it is, to use again the words of St Thomas: "a participation in the Divine Nature"; the gift of which must necessarily remain with God alone (cf. Rom. ix, 12-23.) God, however, has raised us up with Christ "That he might show in the ages to come the abundant riches of his grace, in his bounty towards us in Christ Jesus. For by grace you are saved through faith." (Eph. ii, 7-8.) By what means, does God, the origin of grace, convey that grace to us? Or does St Paul teach that there are no special means? There is of course no suggestion that, even if certain definite "channels," as it were, of grace were appointed for us, that God's Providence would be limited by them. The case of those who for any reason have not access to the normal means of grace is not considered by St Paul, and we do not here deal with it. We are here to learn whether St Paul supposed that grace would normally be obtained by the use of certain prescribed means, and if so by what means; other problems are beyond our scope, we content ourselves with the Saint's own warning in a similar case: "Thou standest by faith. Be not high-minded but fear." (Rom. xi, 20.)

It is perfectly clear that St Paul does acknowledge certain special, objective, means of grace; we have not been able to proceed even so far in our very cursory survey of his doctrine without referring to grace obtained in two ways, in faith, and in baptism. And to begin with it will be useful to recall briefly something of what has been already said on Faith.

Faith

The movement of the Holy Spirit which in the first instance disposes the mind and will of the individual to receive the truths of the faith is an actual grace, not mediated by anything. But faith is essential to the receipt of further graces and to the state of supernatural life. "Without faith it is impossible to please God. For he that cometh to God must believe that he is." (Heb. xi, 6.) It is moreover by faith that we are enabled to receive the benefits of baptism, though baptism itself forms and completes that faith which was previously begun in us, and baptism without faith is unthinkable. (For infant baptism cf. note already given.) Hence faith is, as St Thomas says, the first of virtues, and the gift of it must necessarily precede all other spiritual favours. Not only is it an indispensable prior condition ; but it is also a powerful motive disposing us to the use of all other means of grace, and especially to charity, that love of God which is supreme among His gifts. "Being justified therefore by faith, (the movement of faith being essential to the remission of sins) let us have peace with God, through our Lord Jesus Christ, by whom also we have access *through faith* into this grace wherein we stand : and glory in the hope of the glory of the sons of God." (Rom. v, 1-2.)

Baptism

St Paul has more to tell us of Baptism than of any other sacrament. When we are baptized we "put on Christ." (Gal. iii, 27.) "As many of you as have been baptized in Christ have put on Christ" ; have become, that is, His possession so completely that He dwells in you. But not irrevocably ; it is possible to be "made void of Christ" (Gal. v, 4) and thus Paul urges the Romans to keep themselves His possession to Whom they are surrendered. (Rom. xiii, 14.) By the "put-

ting on of Christ " sanctifying grace with its accompaniments of supernatural virtues enters the soul, and we are incorporated into the Church, and thus become sharers in the divine life which animates it. " In one Spirit were we all baptized into one body." (I Cor. xii, 13.)

But St Paul's favourite way of speaking of baptism is to call it a mystical death and resurrection with Christ. The baptism of those days was given by total immersion, and this ceremony very aptly signified what it produced, namely, the death of the old life, and the resurrection into a new life with Christ. St Paul traces a peculiarly intimate connection between Baptism and the Passion and Resurrection of Christ. By it the fruits of the Sacrifice of Calvary are applied to the individual ; for by it we too die, though mystically. " Know you not that all we who are baptized in Christ Jesus, are baptized in his death . . . our old man¹ is crucified with him that the body of sin may be destroyed to the end that we may serve sin no longer." (Rom. vi, 6.) In Baptism sin disappears, whether actual or original, and the power of the principle of sin within us is destroyed so that, though we still have to contend with it, we do so with the prospect, through grace, of victory. Baptism then, being a Sacrament, produces what it signifies, namely, a mystical death in union with Christ's Death on the Cross, to our old selves, the destruction of " the old man " in us.

Baptism, however, is connected not only with the Death, but with the Resurrection of Christ. Not only is the old life killed in us, but a new life is created. " For we are buried together with him by baptism into death : that as Christ is risen from the dead by the glory of the Father, so we also may walk in newness of life." (Rom. vi, 4.) Or, to the Colossians " Buried

¹ Old man in St Paul means man as unredeemed, i.e., governed by the sin-principle.

with him in baptism in whom also you are risen again by the faith of the operation of God, who hath raised him up from the dead." (ii, 12.) It is in virtue of this union with the Risen Christ ; in Whom we also rise ; that we "walk in newness of life," the grace-life, whereby we are not merely called just, but are really made just, that is, righteous and pleasing to God : "According to his mercy he saved us by the laver of regeneration and renovation of the Holy Ghost. Whom he hath poured forth upon us abundantly, through Jesus Christ our Saviour : that being justified by his grace, we may be heirs according to hope of life everlasting." (Tit. iii, 5-7.)

For St Paul this elevation into a state of supernatural living ; this grafting into the tree of Christ (cf. Rom. xi) ; in Whom we henceforth live and grow ; this influx of grace and of the Holy Ghost, carried with it inevitable obligations, the obligations of charity, the love of God and consequent effort after personal holiness ; the love of our neighbour with its consequence of good works : "If the Spirit of him that raised up Jesus Christ from the dead dwell in you ; he that raised up Jesus Christ from the dead shall quicken also your mortal bodies because of his Spirit that dwelleth in you. Therefore brethren we are debtors, not to the flesh to live after the flesh ; for if you live according to the flesh you shall die (no grace will save us in spite of ourselves), but if by the Spirit you mortify the deeds of the flesh you shall live. . . . Who then shall separate us from the love of Christ ? Shall tribulation ? Or distress ? Or famine ? Or nakedness ? Or danger ? Or persecution ? Or the sword ? . . . But in all these things we overcome, because of him that hath loved us." And has enabled us to love Him. (Rom. viii, 11-13, 35, 37.) And St Paul follows the passage we have already quoted from the Epistle to Titus with the words : "Faithful is the saying (i.e., the passage cited) and concerning

these things I desire thee to insist, in order that they who have believed God may be careful to devote themselves to every good work." (Tit iii, 8 ; cf. also Col. iii ; I Thess. iv, 3-II.)

Baptism, then, with faith, is for St Paul the primary means of grace. By it we are united to the Passion and Resurrection of the Saviour, die to sin, and rise to the Life of the Spirit as children of God, and members of the Mystical Body of Christ. But this new grace-life we are to preserve in ourselves by charity, good works, and all other means. Is there any other means of grace of importance comparable to baptism ?

The Holy Eucharist

All the sacraments are means of grace ; but, as we have already seen, St Paul has occasion to speak only of two. The first of these is Baptism, of which we have just spoken ; the second is the Holy Eucharist of which we are now to speak.

" The chalice of benediction which we bless, is it not the communion of the Blood of Christ ? And the bread which we break is it not the partaking of the Body of the Lord ? For we, being many, are one bread, one body ; all that partake of one bread." (I Cor. x, 16-17.) In the whole of the passage of which this is a part St Paul is contrasting the Holy Eucharist with the sacrifices of the pagan altars, and their related feasts, " the cup of devils," and the " table of devils." The contrast then, is between the heathen sacrifice, the table of devils, and the Christian sacrifice, the " Table of the Lord." It is worth noting that this expression, the " Table of the Lord," is itself taken from the famous passage in the prophet Malachi wherein the reference to the " sacrifice and clean oblation " has always been understood of the Holy Eucharist. (Mal. i.)

The contrast is meaningless unless St Paul believed the Holy Eucharist to be a true sacrifice, and knew that

his readers would so interpret his words. Not less clearly does he teach in the same passage, that the faithful partake, not symbolically but really, of the Body and the Blood of the Lord. "The bread which we break is it not a partaking of the Body of the Lord?" All sacraments, as St Thomas teaches (*Summa*, Pt. 3. Q. LXII. A.5), derive their efficacy from the Passion of Christ. We have already seen how unmistakably St Paul shows this in the case of Baptism, nor is he less definite on the Holy Eucharist. "As often as you eat this bread and drink this cup you proclaim the death of the Lord until he come." (I Cor. xi, 26.) Therefore the Holy Eucharist represents the Passion of Christ. But the Holy Eucharist is itself a sacrifice, as we have seen. And under the New Law there is but one sacrifice, that of Calvary, according as the Apostle himself says: "This man offering one sacrifice for sins, for ever sitteth on the right hand of God. . . . For by one oblation he hath perfected for ever them that are sanctified." (Heb. x, 12, 14.) Therefore the Holy Eucharist, being a sacrifice, must be one sacrifice with that which it represents, namely, the Sacrifice of Calvary.

In the Holy Eucharist, then, St Paul teaches, we offer as oblation, and receive as food, the very Body and Blood of Christ, in a Sacrifice which is one with His Sacrifice. And in doing this we are united more closely to Him, and also to each other: "We many are one Bread, one Body: all that partake of one Bread." Hence is it a means of grace: "The bread which I give is my flesh for the life of the world. . . . He that eateth my flesh and drinketh my blood hath everlasting life." (John vi, 52, 55.) But grace is life everlasting as St Paul has taught us, he who, as we know, had consulted John about his doctrine.

Two further points also emerge as we study the Apostle's sayings on this subject. The Holy Eucharist

is pre-eminently the Sacrament of Charity, itself "the bond of perfection." (Col. iii, 14.) For in it we are not only made one with each other, but we are especially united to Christ in the supreme crisis of His love for the Father and for us: "Greater love hath no man than this, that he should lay down his life for his friends." (John xv, 13.) Again, he who receives it must be already in grace—"Let a man prove himself and so let him eat." (I Cor. xi, 28.) Therefore this sacrament is particularly ordained to the increase of grace and of charity, and this in itself would suggest the necessity of the sacrament of penance; but we do not discuss this as it does not fall within the limits set by St Paul.

But not only is the Holy Eucharist the Sacrament of Charity: it is also, and necessarily, the Sacrament of Ecclesiastical Unity. For "We, being many, are one bread, one body."

Let us then summarise what we have here learned of St Paul's doctrine on the Holy Eucharist, and on Baptism, the "door of the Sacraments," in the words of the Angelic Doctor: "Baptism is the sacrament of Christ's death and Passion according as a man is born anew in Christ in virtue of His Passion; but the Eucharist is the sacrament of Christ's Passion according as man is made perfect in union with Christ Who suffered. Hence as Baptism is called the Sacrament of Faith which is the foundation of the spiritual life, so the Eucharist is termed the Sacrament of Charity, which is 'the bond of perfection.'"

THE EFFECTS OF GRACE

The Fruits of the Spirit

It was not possible to describe the nature of grace as conceived by St Paul, without at the same time indicating its general effect. For we have already

shown that grace, for St Paul, is nothing less than the living in union with God through the merits of the Passion of Christ ; this union being first brought about, and then maintained, by the use of certain special " means " of which we have considered those more especially treated of by St Paul.

This life of union, in which we are incorporated into the Mystical Body of the glorified Christ, the Holy Spirit dwelling within us, produces certain special effects in the soul, and it is these we have now to examine. They are usually called " the fruits of the Spirit," a name St Paul himself gave to them.

" The fruit of the Spirit is charity, joy, peace, patience, benignity, goodness, longanimity (constancy to hope deferred), mildness, faith, modesty, continency, chastity." (Gal. v, 22-23.) The presence of the Holy Spirit in our hearts inevitably brings with it all else that is holy, not only bestowing new virtues which otherwise could not be ; but also raising those which might already exist to a higher order of excellence. Many of the virtues in this list would also be found in any catalogue of " natural virtues." But since now they are the result of the indwelling of the Divine Spirit, they belong, not to the order of Nature any longer, but to that of Grace, and are possible even to those who in a natural way, possessed them not. Other virtues, such as faith and charity, which refer to our last end, could not otherwise exist in us at all. Hence we see that the life of grace not only bestows on us new gifts, but also infinitely increases the value of those that may be already ours ; since they can now be exercised through God, and for God, and be always referred to Him as their end.

But St Paul follows his list with a grave injunction : " If we live in the Spirit, let us also walk in the Spirit." (Gal. v, 25.) It is not enough to possess these virtues inwardly as a habit if they do not appear outwardly in

act. St Paul never conceives of a Christian as a placid and passive recipient of the favours of heaven : " Bear ye one another's burdens, and so ye shall fulfil the law of Christ. . . . And in doing good let us not fail." (Gal. vi, 2, 9.)

The fruit of the Holy Spirit within us, then, is every gift and virtue which is appropriate to our condition as children of God. But among all these gifts there is one which is more excellent, and of this we must especially speak.

Charity

" Be zealous for the better gifts. And I show you yet a more excellent way." More than all the special gifts, as of prophecy, tongues, or miracles which the Apostle has just been describing, the theological virtues of faith and hope are to be valued. For prophecy, miracles, and all such things mediate God's glory only indirectly, being fulfilled in the ministry to the brethren. But the virtues of faith and hope have God alone for their object and so are greater than these—" And I show you yet a more excellent way. If I speak with the tongue of men and of angels, and have not charity, I am become as sounding brass or a clanging cymbal. And if I have the gift of prophecy and comprehend all mysteries and all knowledge, and if I have all faith so as to displace mountains, but have not charity, I am nothing. And if I bestow in alms all my goods, and if I deliver my body to the flames, but have not charity, it profiteth me nothing." (I Cor. xiii, 1-3.)

In charity are comprehended all virtues and spiritual gifts. None of these, lacking charity, are tokens of holiness ; neither miracles, almsgiving, nor martyrdom. It is charity alone that gives them their value, charity alone that abides to the end. Faith passes into vision, hope in its own fulfilment perishes, charity alone remains in the end. " And now abide faith, hope and

charity, these three. But the greatest of these is charity." (I Cor. xiii, 13.)

Charity then is the greatest of the gifts of grace, the most necessary, and most universal. Not all, St Paul reminds us, will receive every gift: "All these things one and the same Spirit worketh, dividing to everyone according as he will." (I Cor. xii, 11.) And again, "To every one of us is given grace according to the *measure* of the giving of Christ." (Eph. iv, 7.) Not all work miracles, not all prophesy. But charity, essential to all, is given to all. "The charity of God is poured forth in our hearts by the Holy Ghost who is given to us." (Rom. v, 5.) Why does St Paul become thus, ecstatic almost, whenever he has to speak of charity?

The word 'gratia' in Latin stands for 'charis' in Greek, and it is from 'gratia' that we get our word grace. But the word used by St Paul which we translate charity, means also, love. Etymology then, if this is not too fanciful, would seem to supply us with a definition of charity "the bond of perfection." Charity is the grace-love, the love of God which we have by grace. The love of God is natural to man. Even by nature man is able to love God as his own greatest good. Only by grace is he able to love God for Himself, and as his own supernatural end. This love is charity, and by its very existence procures another effect: "As touching the love of brotherhood, we have no need to write to you: for you yourselves have learned of God to love one another." (I Thess. iv. 9.)

Charity then is the supernatural love of God issuing in love of the brethren. This is the one thing necessary without which neither martyrdom, good works, nor marvellous gifts shall profit anything. These, however, are not to be despised. "Be zealous for spiritual gifts," but, "follow after charity." "And we know that to them that love God all things work together unto good. . . . For I am sure that neither death, nor life,

nor angels, nor principalities, nor powers, nor things present, nor things to come, nor might, nor height, nor depth, nor any other creature, shall be able to separate us from the love of God which is in Jesus Christ our Lord." (Rom. viii, 28, 38-39.)

SUMMARY

We see then that grace is the free gift of God through the Holy Spirit, in virtue of Christ's Passion. For this reason the name grace (favour) is given both to particular spiritual aids given for a special emergency (actual graces), and also to the state of everlasting life, or union with God, which is ours by sanctifying grace. Further, that the principal means of grace are Faith and the Sacraments, especially Baptism and the Holy Eucharist. And lastly, that the Holy Spirit indwelling us by grace, elevates our natural virtues to the supernatural level, and bestows on us others which are wholly supernatural in character. And that of all these gifts and graces the greatest is charity.

V

ST PAUL'S DOCTRINE ON THE CHRISTIAN CHARACTER

ST PAUL'S CONCEPTION OF THE CHRISTIAN AS SUCH

The Christian Type

ST PAUL several times uses metaphors to express more clearly his general idea of what a Christian should resemble. These metaphors, or images, range themselves under two headings, the warrior, and the athlete. Even before we examine these images more in detail it is possible to gather from this fact some preliminary notion of the type he has in mind when speaking of the Christian character, or at least to eliminate those types to which the Christian will not conform.

And first it is clear that the Pauline Christian will not be one who merely waits for the divine influx in a picturesque attitude of devotion. Soldier and athlete derive their very existence from action and contest. But the two images have yet other implications. A soldier fights under obedience, whether attacking or defending; the athlete too must obey, but this metaphor brings out more clearly the idea of personal responsibility and preparation. An athlete in training must not only follow a rule but follow it even when no one is there to make him, or to share it with him. And when it comes to an actual contest, both soldier and athlete must look after themselves. Hence the

Christian, though the opposite of the rebel type, will nevertheless not be wholly dependent on others, he will not require constant watching and supervision, constant directions, or constant "moving on" by a moral-police.

If we come to examine these metaphors more in detail we shall find this impression confirmed. The principal references to the Christian as warrior are to be found in Ephesians vi, 11-17; I Thess. v, 8; I Tim. vi, 12; II Tim. ii, 3-4. In the first two the Apostle bids his readers: "Put on the armour of God" in order to resist evil. In Ephesians he works out the metaphor at length, comparing the virtues befitting a Christian to the different parts of a Roman soldier's equipment. And well might he be able to do so since even while he wrote he was chained to a soldier of the Prætorian Guard. But the Apostle had used the same image in the earliest Epistle remaining to us. (I Thess.) He is thinking of the soldier on guard, expecting attack, and prepared to resist it, armed and ready. But the Christian soldier has the armour suited to his special foes "principalities and powers, the rulers of the world of this darkness, the spirits of wickedness in the high places" (Eph. vi, 12) and that armour is spiritual: "The shield of faith . . . the helmet of salvation, and the sword of the Spirit (which is the word of God)." (Eph. vi, 11-17.)

In the later references St Paul is thinking of a more positive activity, the soldier must not only defend but attack, he tells Timothy: "Labour as a good soldier. . . . Fight the good fight." The Christian then is first compared to those Roman legionaries who had conquered the world.

When St Paul speaks of the Christian as an athlete he is usually thinking of a runner, though once at least he takes his comparison from boxing. The principal reference is I Cor. ix, 24, 25. St Paul showed his usual

tact in using this metaphor to the Corinthians, for it was one which they would find especially appropriate. The Isthmian Games held at Corinth, were famous, and the principal event in them was a foot race for which the prize was a crown of wild olive leaves. Well, then, would the Corinthians have understood the significance of this saying: "Know you not that they who run in the race, all run indeed, but one receiveth the prize? So run that ye may obtain. And everyone that striveth for the mastery refraineth himself from all things. And they indeed that they may receive a corruptible crown: but we an incorruptible." The general meaning of the analogy is clear; but to a Greek it had added force.

The winner of an event at any of the great Greek athletic gatherings, Olympian or Isthmian, became a sort of national hero. Plato, the great philosopher, in his *Defence of Socrates*, makes this latter allude to the then Athenian custom of maintaining such a victor for life at the public cost. Merely to be the descendant of such a man was considered a title to distinction. There were people who devoted their whole lives to no other end than success at one of these meetings, and this pursuit became, as it were, hereditary in certain families, father and son competing for many generations. Alexander the Great himself had not disdained to contend in the chariot race at Olympia, and the right of a given city to conduct the Games had been the subject of treaty and even of battle. Pindar, the great Greek lyric poet, had devoted his genius to glorifying the victors of Olympia.

For a long period before the race the prospective runner gave himself to preparation. His whole life was dedicated to this object, food, exercise, every occupation being subject to the most detailed care and regulation. Likely candidates for success were public characters, and the victor's garland of

leaves was veritably symbolic of a real earthly glory.

If, then, St Paul tells the Corinthian in effect, men will do all this, refraining themselves even from lawful things, or what would be otherwise lawful, for the sake of a perishable crown, and the perishable glory it signified, what of this other race "where that immortal garland is to be run for, not without dust and heat"? If this for a crown of wild olive, what for the incorruptible crown, "the crown of justice which the Lord the just judge will render in that day"? (II Tim. iv, 8.) The Christian life is a race: "So run that ye may obtain." It is a battle: "Fight the good fight."

The Christian Qualities

St Paul naturally wished his converts to possess and to exercise, every virtue. Never will he let an Epistle go without its including moral instructions, and incitements to every moral excellence. But there are some virtues which he urges so constantly that we are obliged to believe that he held them of prime importance. These fall under three headings, Purity, Constancy, and Mutual Charity or Sympathy. The Pagans of St Paul's day were more prone to err against purity than against any other virtue, and there were in existence social customs whereby the Christian would be exposed to very special temptations. Here then is one reason why St Paul lays so much emphasis on this. It would be impossible to exaggerate the difference made to human society by two points alone of the teaching of the Christian Church; her teaching on Marriage and her teaching on Virginity. But to St Paul himself with his characteristic doctrine of Christian membership of Christ, and of the human body as the "temple of the Holy Ghost", any laxity in regard to that body, whatever its nature, was peculiarly abhorrent. (cf. I Cor. v, 6; I Thess, iv, 4-7; Gal. v, 24; Eph. v, 3; Rom. xiii, 13.)

The second quality St Paul especially refers to is constancy, more particularly in the faith. Again and again he advocates it (II Thess. ii, 14 ; I Cor. xvi, 13 ; xv, 58 ; Gal. vi, 9 ; Col. i, 23) : " Therefore, brethren, stand fast." . . . " Therefore, my beloved brethren, be ye steadfast and immoveable." And if St Paul, most gentle as most ardent, ever allows himself the least touch of something like contempt, it is when he refers to " Silly women, laden with sins, who are led away with divers desires, ever learning and never attaining to the knowledge of the truth." (II Tim. iii, 6-7.) Is it too far-fetched to be reminded of St Theresa's prayer : " From foolish devotions God preserve us " ?

The other group of qualities particularly urged by the Apostle may be nearly all related to each other under the general heading of Sympathy, or Mutual Charity. If St Paul loathed anything, he loathed dissensions and scandal among the brethren. Never does he repeat any admonition more persistently than " Be ye of one mind." (cf. Rom. xii, 16, xv, 5 ; Phil. ii, 2 ; Col. iii, 13 ; I Cor. i ; I Thess. v, 12-13.) Forgiveness, forbearance, unwillingness to take offence, unreadiness to believe evil, in short, the charity which " thinketh no evil, is not easily provoked, hopeth all things " ; this is what St Paul looked for in his Christians ; following in this as in all else, his Master's guidance : " By this shall all men know that you are my disciples, if you have love one for another." (John xiii, 35.) Yet St Paul knew that even Christians would remain human, and that consequently there might come occasions when even charity must believe. For this also he provided. " If a man be overtaken in any fault, you who are spiritual, instruct such a man in the spirit of meekness, considering thyself lest thou also be tempted." (Gal. vi, 1.) Above all, taught the disciple of Him Who does not break the bruised reed, there must be no one driven to despair. A Corinthian, excommuni-

cated for grave sin, afterwards gave sign of repentance. St Paul wrote instantly to Corinth reinstating him and, carefully avoiding the use of his name in an Epistle that would be publicly read, added: "You should rather forgive and comfort him lest perhaps such an one be swallowed up with over much sorrow. Wherefore I beseech you that you would confirm your charity towards him." (II Cor. ii, 7-8.)

The Christians therefore were to be "kind to one another: merciful, forgiving one another" (Eph. iv, 32) "patient towards all men" (I Thess. v, 14.) "But above all these things have charity which is the bond of perfection." (Col. iii, 14.) And they were to pray "always," for themselves, each other, and for him. (I Thess. v, 17-25; Col. iv, 2-3; Phil. iv, 6; Eph. vi, 18; Rom. xv, 30; Heb. xiii, 18.) And, "For the rest, brethren, all that is true, all that is seemly, all that is just, all that is pure, all that is lovable, all that is winning,—whatever is virtuous or praiseworthy—let such things fill your thoughts." (Phil. iv, 8.)

ST PAUL'S CONCEPTION OF THE CHRISTIAN IN SOCIAL RELATIONSHIP

We are here to examine the attitude St Paul thought Christians should adopt towards Civil Authority, and in the relationships of organised society, as of master and servant, etc.

It might seem curious at first that problems which are rather those of moral philosophy than of theology should be dealt with in letters which are primarily answers to doctrinal difficulties. But St Paul was writing to real people, and in real life religion and ethics cannot be separated as easily as in books. St Paul's Christians were not hermits; they were not even monks and nuns, they were just ordinary people, living the ordinary social life of their day and faced with all those questions of daily conduct which life in the world,

especially in an alien world, must necessarily bring to any Christian. St Paul, in guiding souls to heaven, does not forget that they go by way of earth, and that, though it be indeed a "Vanity Fair," they must know how to rule themselves therein. Certain principles of social conduct therefore St Paul does lay down, though not in detail, and among these will first be taken what he says about Civil Authority of which he speaks most fully. Before quoting the actual words of the Apostle it is well to be reminded of some of the special circumstances in which he spoke that the full significance of his teaching may be understood.

Civil Authority

The longest passage on Civil Authority occurs in the Epistle to the Romans. St Paul wrote it from Corinth during his second visit there (c. A.D. 56.) The Emperor at the time was Claudius Cæsar, never conspicuous for much display of kingly qualities. He had recently succeeded Caius Caligula, whose frantic conduct points to insanity, and who had determined to desecrate the Temple at Jerusalem. In Sergius Paullus, and in Gallio, St Paul had encountered Roman officials of the better sort. But his experience had seldom been so fortunate. In all those districts he had first evangelized he had been hounded from place to place because the local governments forgot Roman justice in Jewish clamour. In Palestine the Civil Power had crucified Christ through sheer weakness on the part of its representative. And Pilate had later lost his post for incompetence, culminating in a massacre of criminal folly. Felix, his successor, in whose power Paul was shortly to be, was a man who could be respected by no one. Nor was Roman Government anywhere at a high level at this time. Roman officials were more prone to enrich themselves at the expense of their districts than to remember either Rome's honour, or her traditional

imperial policy. Why indeed, they might have asked, should they remember what Cæsar himself had forgotten? Such then was St Paul's experimental knowledge of Civil Authority when he first expressed himself on the subject. He was himself moreover by breeding a member of that Jewish group which had most hatred for Rome.

The other two references are contained in the Epistle to Titus, and the First to Timothy. These seem to have been written at about the same time, and between the Saint's first and second imprisonments. Nero, the half-mad artist, was then Cæsar, and the Roman world had a ruler who treated it as a theatre to applaud an Emperor who acted and sang. It was Nero who, before these letters were written, had used Christians as torches to light up his palace gardens on that evening when the pagans themselves were sickened at what they saw. Such was the Emperor, pitiable because most surely mad, who was ruling when St Paul wrote these lines: "Admonish them (the Cretans) to be subject to princes and powers, to obey at a word, to be ready to every good work" (Tit. iii, 1), and "I desire therefore first of all that supplications, prayers, intercessions, and thanksgivings be made for all men. For Kings and all that are in high station: that we may lead a quiet and peaceable life in all chastity." (I Tim. ii, 1-2.)

But, as has been noted, the principal reference to this matter comes earlier, in the Epistle to the Romans. "Let every soul be subject to the higher powers. For there is no power but from God; and those that are, are ordained of God. Therefore he that resisteth the power resisteth the ordinance of God. And they that resist purchase to themselves damnation. For princes are not a terror to the good work, but to the evil. Wilt thou then not be afraid of the power? Do that which is good, and then thou shalt have praise from the same. For he is God's minister to thee for good. But if thou

do that which is evil, fear : for he beareth not the sword in vain. For he is God's minister, an avenger to exercise wrath upon him that doth evil. Wherefore be subject of necessity : not only for wrath, but also for conscience sake." (Rom. xiii, 1-5.)

St Paul makes two points perfectly clear. The representative of the Civil Power, he, that is, who exercises the authority of the State, is to be obeyed "not only for wrath, but also for conscience sake"; not only upon compulsion, but by loyalty. Secondly, he is to be obeyed because he is "God's minister" and "there is no power but from God." The power which the Civil Authority exercises may indeed be conferred by the people; it is not derived from them, they may name the recipient, but they do not give the gift. "Therefore he that resisteth the power resisteth the ordinance of God." St Paul also shows what he considers the fundamental duty of the Civil Power to be; namely, the vindication of Divine Justice against the evil-doer: "If thou do that which is evil, fear: For he beareth not the sword in vain. For he is God's minister, an avenger to exercise wrath upon him that doth evil."

In point of fact this conception of civil authority and its office lies at the root of the whole theory of government from this time throughout the Middle Ages. Civil Authority was necessary because men were prone to evil. The great aim of good government was not liberty but justice; less the regulation of conflicting rights than the enforcing of mutual duties. But the discussion of this would take us too far from our immediate subject.¹ And St Paul has not finished his exposition.

We are to be subject "for conscience sake." "For therefore also you pay tribute (taxes). For they are the ministers of God serving unto this purpose. Render

¹ Cf. *Social Theories of the Middle Ages*, by Fr. Bede Jannett, O.P.

therefore unto all men their dues. Tribute to whom tribute is due: custom to whom custom: fear to whom fear: honour to whom honour." (Cf. also I Pet. ii, 13, 14, 17.) St Paul then did not conceive of a Society in which all men would be equal; but of one in which certain claims could be justly made by one group on another. The Civil Authority claims obedience and tribute, claims them as a right. Respect and honour are also claimed as a right for all men must have their due. Much as St Paul has to say on Christian liberty: plainly as he teaches that all the redeemed are equal in their status as children of God, still he had no notion of a Society which was not organised in grades under a head (whether monarchical or not does not affect the argument), who on the one hand, ruling on a basis of justice, especially of retributive justice, on the other could claim, and ought to receive, respect, obedience, and temporal support.

This conception, like all St Paul's thought, has a supernatural foundation. The presence and action of the Civil Power are representative of the Divine Power; it is God's authority which is given to it to vindicate God's justice. The Christian citizen submits to the Government and pays taxes, not through compulsion, or as one who buys what he wants at that price, but as one who is obeying the Supreme Governor, God Almighty, of Whose authority the Civil ruler is, in secular matters, the representative.

Other Relations of Organised Society

The conception of a civil society bound together by a supernatural bond because the principle of unity in it is the submission of all to the obedience of God, underlies the remainder of St Paul's teaching on this matter. And it was therefore that he treated of these questions at all. St Paul's whole life shows that he was not actuated in his labours by any motive drawn from

the social conditions of his day; by any theory of social regeneration resulting from the introduction of Christian elements into the conceptions of society. That Christian principles would ultimately be found to be the principles of well-being even in Civil Society the Apostle would not, doubtless, have denied. But it was not a problem that immediately concerned him, it was not the motive of his labours. That motive was at once simpler, and more supernatural: "For a necessity lieth upon me. For woe is unto me if I preach not the Gospel. . . . For the charity of Christ presseth us."

Only so far as these problems came within the scope of his immediate apostolate did St Paul consider them, and always from the point of view of one to whom spiritual conditions were infinitely more important than temporal conditions; of one who would have confronted many modern thinkers with his Master's unanswerable question. "What shall it profit a man if he gain the whole world, and lose his own soul?"

Just, then, as the Apostle regarded the relationship of the citizen and the State as one consisting of the obligation of justice on the one hand, and of loyalty and obedience on the other, so he saw the same obligations to obtain between the master and the servant.

In St Paul's day service was quite literally servitude. The whole fabric of society was based, as it always had been based, on the institution of slavery. The servants he addresses were, in most cases if not in all, slaves. The masters he addresses were the masters and owners of slaves. If then between these there exist a relationship of mutual duties how much more might St Paul have argued, does it exist in the case of free men. If the master must treat his slave with "justice and equity" how much more the employer? If the slave must "serve from the heart" how much more the employé?

What, however, are St Paul's actual words? There are two references to the duties of masters, and four to the duties of servants. In two Epistles the references are paired, in the rest only servants are mentioned (I Col. iii, 22; iv, 1.) "Servants obey in all things your masters according to the flesh: not serving to the eye, as pleasing men; but in simplicity of heart fearing God. . . . Masters, do to your servants that which is just and equal: knowing that you also have a master in heaven." (II Eph. vi, 5, 7.) "Servants, be obedient to them that are your lords according to the flesh, with fear and trembling, in the simplicity of your hearts, as to Christ. . . . You masters do the same (good) things to them (servants) forbearing threatenings: knowing that the Lord both of them and of you is in heaven." (Tit. ii, 10, cf. I Tim. vi, 1, 2.) "Exhort servants to be obedient to their masters: in all things pleasing, not gainsaying; not defrauding, but in all things showing good fidelity, that they may adorn the doctrine of God our Saviour in all things." Note as significant that St Paul tells neither of their rights, but both of their duties. St Peter is even more uncompromising. (I Pet. ii, 18, *et seq.*)

The same principle, that of mutual duties under a Divine sanction, is applied by St Paul to family relationships as well. We may give one example, taken from the injunctions to parents and children. "Children, obey your parents in the Lord: for this is just. . . . You, fathers, provoke not your children to anger: but bring them up in the discipline and correction of the Lord." (Eph. vi, 1, 4, cf. Col. iii, 21.) The relation of husband and wife affords another occasion to apply the same teaching.

Similarly the rich and the poor have their special duties (I Tim. vi, 8-10, 17, 18), but on both alike lies the obligation of labour. "If any man will not work neither let him eat. For we have heard there are some

among you who walk disorderly : working not at all : but curiously meddling. Now we charge them that are such and beseech them by the Lord Jesus Christ, that, working with silence, they would eat their own bread." Thus faithfully dealt St Paul with the beggars of Thessalonica who preferred the charity of the faithful to the labours of their own hands. (II Thess. iii, 10-12.)

SUMMARY

St Paul then believed that the Christian was fitly symbolised by the soldier armed and ready, and by the athlete who, desiring an incorruptible crown, allowed nothing to stand in the way of his hope of victory. And the Christian was to be characterised by the purity and constancy of his own life, and by his tenderness, consideration, and sympathy for others : " Speaking evil of no man : showing all mildness to all men." (Tit. iii, 2.) In social relationships he would find that one principle existed to govern all his conduct, to his equal, his inferior, his superior, and all those in authority. That principle was the obligation of justice—Render to all men their due—having regard to the One Judge Who is over all ; according to the words of the Psalmist that the righteous man is he who shall " Do justice, and love mercy, and walk humbly with his God." But, permeating and vivifying all this, is the Apostle's one great principle of spiritual life : " But above all these things have charity which is the bond of perfection." " Until we all meet into the unity of the faith and of the knowledge of the Son of God, unto a perfect man, unto the measure of the age of the fulness of Christ." (Eph. iv, 13.)

EPILOGUE

ST PAUL HIMSELF

IT would seem unfitting to close this cursory survey of the life and work of the Apostle of the Gentiles without making some little attempt to gather together into one whole the scattered impressions of this man who, in the course of a brief thirty years, established the Church of Christ in Asia, Macedonia, and in Greece : " From Jerusalem round about as far as unto Illyricum " (Dalmatia), and at the same time literally created both the science of theology and its very language. True it is that it would take a Paul to comprehend a Paul, nevertheless, amid much that was known only to the God he spoke with, something remains perceptible even to us.

And first of all it is very clear that St Paul the Apostle was a man as greatly loving as much beloved. All through the Acts and the Epistles, scattered like jewels, are the names of his friends. Luke, " the most dear physician," Tychicus, " my dearest brother," Onesimus, " a most beloved and faithful brother . . . him that is my very heart." Titus, " my beloved son " : and most of all, Timothy, of whom " Ye know the proof, that as a son with the father so hath he served with me in the Gospel." Timothy whom, near to death, the Apostle would bid to " come quickly."

Little wonder was it indeed that when he took farewell of the elders of Ephesus they, grieved on account of premonitions of evil, were " grieved most of all for the word which he had said, that they should see his

face no more." Not Paul's was that ideal of sanctity which would measure nearness to heaven by distance from earth. For him detachment was not indifference, even to the least of human interests : " Who is weak, and I am not weak ? Who is scandalized, and I am not on fire ? " St Paul was he who, when he came to Troas, passed over into Macedonia because : " I had no rest to my spirit because I found not Titus my brother." Terribly severe he could be indeed, with that blasting severity of which only the very gentle are capable. But no one ever forgave so fully and eagerly, no one was ever so reluctant to blame. So he went from place to place, listening to all men, adjusting himself to all, repaying a passing kindness with heaven's own favours, terrible to the sin, most tender to the sinner, winning the soul where he won the heart.

And if we ask for the key to this life, superhuman in its labour, and in itself most human then when most divine, we shall find it surely in his own words to the King Agrippa : " I was not incredulous to the heavenly vision."

From that moment when he heard the voice : " I am Jesus whom thou persecutest " ; he had never faltered in that single devotion. " Of the Jews five times did I receive forty stripes save one. Thrice was I beaten with rods : once I was stoned : thrice I suffered shipwreck : a night and a day I was in the depth of the sea. In journeyings often, in perils of waters, in perils of robbers, in perils from my own nation, in perils from the Gentiles, in perils in the city, in perils in the wilderness, in perils in the sea, in perils from false brethren, in labour and painfulness, in much watching, in hunger and thirst, in fastings often, in cold and nakedness. Besides those things which are without : my daily instance, the solicitude for all the churches." " But the things that were gain to me, the same I have counted loss for Christ. Furthermore

I count all things to be but loss for the excellent knowledge of Jesus Christ, my Lord : for whom I have suffered the loss of all things and count them but as dung, that I may gain Christ." Whom he did indeed gain when at Aquæ Salvæ which now is called St Paul outside the Walls, he, by the way of martyrdom rendered back his soul to God who gave it.

Not vain had been the Divine prophecy : " I will show him how great things he must suffer for my sake." Not vain the Divine promise : " My grace is sufficient for thee." Not vain his own almost last saying : " I am even now ready to be sacrificed : and the time of my dissolution is at hand. I have fought a good fight : I have finished my course : I have kept the faith. As to the rest, there is laid up for me a crown of justice which the Lord, the just judge, will render to me in that day : and not only to me, but to them also that love his coming." For so was he not even then unmindful of those for whom he had gained the title which is written upon his tomb, and in the heart of the Catholic Church, Paul : Apostle : Martyr.

CHRONOLOGICAL SUMMARY OF ST PAUL'S LIFE

N.B.—The precise chronology of St Paul's life is still a vexed question. For the following table, which of course can have no pretensions to finality, the principal, though not the only, authorities are Prof. Ramsay and R. P. Langrange, O.P.

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| A.D. 32-33. | Martyrdom of St Stephen.
Conversion of St Paul. |
| 36. | First visit to Jerusalem. |
| 36-37. | Sojourn in Tarsus. |
| 41-42. | Recall to Antioch. |
| 43. | Second visit to Jerusalem. |
| 44-45. | Return and stay at Antioch. |
| 46 (spring). | First Missionary Journey. |
| 49-50. | Council of Jerusalem. |
| 50. | Second Missionary Journey. |
| 51-52. | At Corinth. First and Second Thessalonians. |
| 53. | Third visit to Jerusalem. |
| 53-54. | Third Missionary Journey. |
| 54-56. | At Ephesus. First Corinthians and Galatians. |
| 56. | In Macedonia. Second Corinthians.
In Corinth. To the Romans. |
| 57. | Fourth visit to Jerusalem and Arrest. |
| 60 (61)-62. | First Roman imprisonment. Colossians, Philemon, Philippians, Ephesians. |
| 62-66. | Release and Journeys in Asia Minor and Macedonia. Epistles to Titus and I Timothy. |
| 66. | Second Roman Imprisonment. II Timothy. Hebrews. ¹ |
| 67. | Martyrdom. |

¹ The date of the Epistle to the Hebrews is especially questioned. Good authorities assign it to the second Roman imprisonment when the Palestinian situation rendered it especially appropriate. Though the teaching of this Epistle is unquestionably Pauline; it is agreed that the actual writing of it was done by another hand, a fact easily to be accounted for by the strictness of his imprisonment if the date given above be maintained.

TABLE OF THE EPISTLES

NAME.	DATE AND PLACE OF ORIGIN.	THEME		
		OCCASIONAL.	DOCTRINAL.	MORAL.
I & II Thesalonians.	Corinth 51-52 A.D.	Commendations. Paul's continued interest.	The Last Judgment.	Purity, Industry, etc.
I Corinthians	Ephesus c. 54 "	Cliques and law suits. Paul's own conduct, character of his teaching. Idol sacrifices.	The Holy Eucharist. The Mystical gifts. Charity. Marriage & Celibacy. The Resurrection.	Purity and other virtues.
Galatians	Ephesus c. 54 "	The Judaizers. The authority of Paul's teaching. The Council of Jerusalem.	Faith. The Fruits of the Spirit. Life in the Spirit.	Christian virtues and conduct.
II Corinthians	Macedonia c. 56 "	Self-Defence. Biographical details. The Jerusalem Collection.	The character of the Apostolate, etc.	Treatment of penitents.
Romans	Corinth 56-57 "	Romans commended. Paul's purposed visit. Judaism. Messages to friends.	Natural Religion. Sin. The Redemption. Faith.	Christian character. Civil authority.
Philippians	Rome 61-62 "	Commendations. Paul's imprisonment. Gifts from Philippi. Messages. On himself.	The Incarnation.	Unity, humility, etc.

Colossians	Rome	61-62	Commendations and messages. Worship of Angels.	Person of Christ. Hope in Christ.	Christian virtues and in social conduct.
Ephesians	Rome	61-62	Messages.	Christ and the Church.	Christian virtues and in social conduct.
Philemon	Rome	61-62	Appeal for Onesimus.		
I Timothy	Macedonia	63-66	Timothy's duties. The Dangers to be feared.	On Heretics.	Qualities of the priesthood, etc.
Titus	" c.	63-66 ?	Titus' duties.	Baptism. Duty of Prayer.	Virtues proper to various states.
II Timothy (2)	Rome	66-67	Timothy's history. Paul's present position, his friends, his wishes.	General advice in right behaviour, conduct to heretics, etc.	
Hebrews (1)	Rome	66-67	Present condition of Jewish Christians.	Christ's Mission and Priesthood.	Courage, constancy. Obedience.

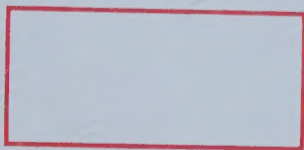
Note.—None of these dates can be considered as more than approximately correct.

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